

Lives of the  
**ROMAN EMPERORS**  
From Suetonius to the  
Fall of the Empire



London: Printed for Charles Harper  
at the Florer-de-luce over against St.  
Dunstan's Church in Fleet street. 1698.

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The L I V E S  
OF THE  
*Roman Emperors,*  
FROM

DOMITIAN, where Suetonius Ends,  
to the Establishment of Christianity,  
under CONSTANTINE the Great.

Containing those of  
NERVA and TRAJAN, from Dion Cassius;  
A Translation of the  
Six Writers of the Augustean History,

And Those of  
DIOCLESIAN, and His Associates,  
from Eusebius, and Others.

WITH THE  
Heads of the EMPERORS  
in Copper Plates.

Taken from Original MEDALS.

AND A  
Chronology, running through the Whole.

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By JOHN BERNARD, A. M.

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The Second Volume.

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The Second Edition.

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LONDON. Sold by William Bray, 1713.

25 JULY

THE

EMPRESS OF RUSSIA

FROM

CONTINUATION OF CHINESE  
CONTRACTS WITH CHINA  
CONTINUATION OF CHINESE  
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CONTRACTS WITH CHINA

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**T**HE Continuation of These Lives from *Constantine the Great* inclusively down to *Augustulus*, under whom that mighty Empire received its Period, is now in Hand, and will be finished with all Convenient Expedition.

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## ERRATA in Vol. I.

PAG. 2. line 28. for Tirenta read Fronto. p. 20. l. 7. r.  
in spilling their Blood. Over. l. 8. r. di Roma, he. p.  
81. in the marg. dele his Wife. p. 87. l. 21. r. Cities,  
Temples also. He. p. 96. in the marg. r. Honour done to  
his Wife. p. 125. l. 23. dele Tho'. p. 147. l. 32. for Coach  
r. Couch. p. 147. l. 8. dele without Orders, and r. unlaw-  
fully. p. 164. l. 4. for virilis r. virisq; p. 222. l. 27. for this  
r. their. p. 252. l. 11. after him add; p. 280. l. 15. for on  
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about the Emperors. p. 339. l. 24. dele when. l. 25. r. when  
he said they had deserved. p. 366. l. 15. r. he began.

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## ERRATA in Vol. II.

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him. p. 18. l. 17. for see r. secure. p. 22. l. 33. r. Towns.  
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Miracle. p. 299. l. 11. r. that you have taken. p. 303. l. 16.  
r. there were three.

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THE  
Lives in Vol. II.

**M**axime, *Father and Son,*  
**G**ordianus, *Father and Son,* } By Jul. Ca-  
Gordianus III. } pitolinius.  
Maximus and Balbinus.  
*The Emperors from Gordianus III. to Valerian;*  
*A Supplement.*  
**V**alerian, *Father and Son,*  
**G**allienus, *Father and Son,* } By Trebellius  
*The Thirty Tyrants,* } Pollio.  
Claudius.  
Aurelian,  
Tacitus,  
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Probus.  
Firmus,  
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Procillus,  
Bonoſus.  
Carus,  
Numerianus, *Cæsar,* } By Flavius Vopiscus.  
Carinus.  
Dioclesian,  
Maximian,  
Constantius Chlorus, } By J. Bernard.  
Galerius.



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THE  
L I V E S  
O F  
ÆLIUS SPARTIANUS,  
And the other  
A U T H O R S,  
Composers. of the Body  
Of the following  
HISTORY,

Extracted from the  
Second BOOK of Latin Historians  
of GERARD VOSSIUS:

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ÆLIUS SPARTIANUS,

**T**HIS Author flourisht in the time of the Emperor Dioclesian; to whom he dedicates the Life of Adrian, as also those of Ælius Verus, of Didius Julianus, of Severus; and of Pescennius Niger. He has likewise left us the Life

## The Lives of the

of Antoninus Caracalla, but without any Dedication. As for that of Antoninus Geta, we find it addressed to Constantinus Augustus. It seems also from the beginning of the Life of Ælius Verus, as if he had written the Lives of those Emperors, who reigned before Adrian. And about the latter end of the Life of that Emperor, he gives us a view of what he had designed, in these words; Having proposed to my self to write the History of all those, who since the time of *Fatius*, have been called Cæsars, or *Augustus*, or that have been Princes adopted, or Natural Sons

\* This relates to their theosis.

\* Consecrated as Cæsar's Kindred. But we have no Reason to believe that he ever finished that Design, since Vopiscus, who lived after him, affirms in the Life of Aurelian, that the Life of that Prince had never been written by any one before himself. As to the rest, the Learned Salmasius tells us, that in the Collection of Spartian's Works, which be found in the Palatine Library, there were further attributed to him the Life of Antoninus Pius, and those of Antoninus the Philosopher, of Verus, of Pertinax, of Clodius Albinus, and of Macrinus, which are published under the Name of Julius Capitolinus, and also that of Avidius Cassius, commonly supposed to be written by Vulcatius Gallicanus; and moreover, the Lives of Commodus, of Antoninus Diadumenus, of Heliogabalus, and of Alexander Severus, which are attributed to Lampridius. But I shall have occasion to speak hereafter of those which are supposed to be written by Vulcatius and Lampridius. As for the other that go under the Name of Julius Capitolinus, Vossius

bad

## Six Historians.

had this Opinion of them, viz. that the particular Collection of Lives, above-mentioned, in the Palatine Library, is no sufficient Reason for us to recede from the commonly received Opinion that Capitolinus was the Author of them; nor ought we to be at all surprised that we find here as many Books as there are Lives, nor yet at what Capitolinus himself somewhere tells us, that he would if he saw it convenient, include the Lives of two or more Emperors together in one Volume; for it is fine, he was not always of the same mind, having in the beginning designed a particular Book for each Life, and afterwards included several Lives in one, as is evident from the beginning of the Lives of the Gordiani, whereof we will treat more largely in the Life of Capitolinus. As for the Stile of Spartanus, and the other Composers of the following History, which we find commonly joyn'd together. Erasmus has this of them in his \* Ciceronian. One can find nothing, besides the Truth of the History, in those Authors that is useful or entertaining; for, to speak the Truth of them, they retain very little of the Purity of the Latin Tongue. But here Erasmus is a little too severe, and what Reputation severer he may have acquired for Learning, and particularly for his Knowledge in the Latin Tongue, yet in this case, we ought no more to rely on what he says, than on Horace in the Case of Plautus, or on Quintilian in that of Seneca and some others, who, notwithstanding their Reflections, have continued to preserve an inviolable Reputation.

The Lives of the

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# Vulcatius Gallicanus

## THE SENATOR.

**T**O understand how far Vulcatius Gallianus had engag'd himself to give us the History of the times wherein he lived, we need only have recourse to those words of his, in the Life of Avidius Cassius, which is the only one he has left us, viz. I design, says he, to Dioclesian Augustus, to write the Lives of all those, who, either justly or unjustly, have been stiled Emperor, to the end, to represent as it were at once to your view, all that have arrived to the Imperial Dignity, or been honoured by the Title of Augustus. But it is certain that he never accomplished that Design, since Vopiscus (as I before mentioned) tells us, speaking of himself, that he was the first that ever writ the Life of Aurelian; and we may safely conclude that Vopiscus lived some time after Vulcatius, since he makes mention of Trebellius Pollio, at the beginning of the Life of Aurelian, and of Julius Capitolinus, and Ælius Lampridius,

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dius at the beginning of the Life of Probus. But those were all contemporary with Vulcatius. But it may not be unworthy our observation, that among the antient Collections of the Works of Spartian, in the Palatine Library, we find that of Avidius Cassius, attributed there to him, as the Learned Salmasius has remarked, who seems inclinable to think that they are one and the same Author, both by reason of the time wherein he lived, and of the Stile, and same Design of the History; because, as Lampridius relates, he had proposed to himself to write an History of all the Emperors, who lived since Julius Cæsar, who had been dignified by the Title of Cæsar's or Augustus, and to make there-of as many Books, as he should write Lives. Which you may also read in the third Chapter of the Life of Avidius Cassius; The Lives of all those who had either justly or unjustly been stiled Emperors, as we have already remarked. We may add to this, that as it is certain that Lampridius never accomplish'd his Design, so the Author of the Life of Cassius has also left his imperfect: For as I have already said, Vopiscus maintains that no one before him had written the Life of Aurelian, and he has made no mention at all of Vulcatius, when he had a very fair Opportunity of doing it, where he tells us; That in his Memoirs, he would content himself to imitate Gargilius Martialis, Julius Capitolinus, Ælius Lampridius, and others, who, in what they had transmitted to Posterity, had been more observant of the Truth of the History, than of elegance of Style. But it may be said, that he also comprehended Vulcatius in these words, and

## The Lives of the

others, &c. and that he would not express the Name of this Author, because though he might propose to himself to write of all the Emperors, yet that might only be perhaps out of some sort of Emulation of Spartianus, and that there is great probability, he contented himself with only the Life of Avidius, or perhaps some one more that may be since lost. To this also may be added, that if this Life of Cassius had not been written by Vulcatius, how comes it about that it never went under the Name of Spartianus, of Lampridius, or of Capitolinus? Or if there had been any Error in the Manuscripts, it is probable some would have gone under one Name, and some under another, and yet we find in all the Copies, and all the Editions, the Name of Vulcatius Gallicanus prefixed to them, which we find nowhere else; and in that it is evident, the Copiers were not mistaken.

**Julius**

# Julius Capitolinus.

**H**E has written the Life of Antoninus Pius, and addressed it to the Emperor Dioclesian; whose Name he makes use of for the Life of Marcus Antoninus the Philosopher, tho' none of the Editions have any Dedication prefix'd to them. He dedicates also to Dioclesian the Life of the Emperor Verus; to which, if that be not rather to be attributed to Spartianus, we may further joyn the Life of Pertinax. For the Life which we have under the Name of Claudio Albinus, is dedicated to the Emperor Constantinus, and not to Dioclesian, as Casaubon thinks in the beginning of his Notes on Spartian. We have also by him the Life of Macrinus, and those of the two Maximini, and of the three Gordiani, dedicated to the same Constantinus. As for those of Maximus and Balbinus, which we have also under his Name, they are without any Dedication, and as for the rest which he writ of other Emperors, they are lost. It is evident that he has not carried up the same Design throughout his Work, of making a particular Book for each Life, as he proposed at the beginning, but has fallen into another Method, as he acquaint us himself at the beginning of the Lives of the Gordiani, where

The Lives of the

he tells us expressly, that he had changed his mind  
as to that, and afterwards gives us his reason  
for so doing.

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Ælius Lampridius.

**T**HIS Author is one of those whom Vopiscus pretends to imitate in his Life of Probus. We have Four Lives done by him, viz. those of Commodus Antoninus, of Antoninus Diadumenus, of Antoninus Helio-gabalus, and of Alexander Severus; the Two latter whereof are dedicated to Constantinus Augustus. But we have some reason to doubt whether Lampridius was the Author of the Life of Alexander Severus. It is true, it is attributed to him in the Edition of Milan, which is the first that was ever extant, but that excellent Manuscript of the Palatine Library, ascribes it to Spartanus, as does also Robertus à Porta of Bolonia. But that Collection of Spartanus's Works in the Palatinate, whereof Salmasius speaks, does not only, ascribe this Life to him, but also those of the Three Antonini, which I have just now mentioned; which if it be true, there will not one remain for Lampridius. But, be it as it will, we have no Reason to give more Credit to the Palatine Collection, than to so many other

## Six Historians.

other Manuscripts of Spartianus which have been published. Which notwithstanding if it seem to bear too much upon those of the contrary Opinion, I shall be willing to persuade my self that Ælius Spartianus, and Ælius Lampridius were the same Person, it being easie to apply that of Ausonius to the present Case.

Three names are commonly affected by Persons of Quality.

Moreover, besides those three or four Lives, Spartianus writ some other between them and that of Marcus Antoninus, whereof he makes mention in the beginning of the Life of Commodus: and yet notwithstanding did not Compose the Lives of all the Emperors down to Constantinus, or to Dioclesian, as one may easily guess from the Life of Aurelian written by Vopiscus.

Thus, as far as I see, we may without much difficulty Concede that Ælius Spartianus, and Ælius Lampridius were the same Person, under three names, as I have said before. And if this, or both, were of the Family of the Æliani, from which the Emperor Adrian also was descended, their Original was illustrious enough: but this is all very uncertain, and we can draw no satisfactory Conclusions from it.

Trebellius

## The Lives of the

# Trebellius Pollio.

IN the first Edition of this Author which was at Milan, we find him called Trebellius, and not Trebellius, according to Aventinus's Correction, in the second Book of his Annals, where he speaks of Ancient Writers: But that, in the Opinion of Vossius, was not at all necessary, For among Ancient Inscriptiōns, says he, you may find, Trebellius Pelidianus, Trebellius Maritus, Proconsul, Trebellia Tyche, and such like. We may add that Trebellius is formed from Trebius, which is very frequently found among the said Inscriptions, as Trebius Germanus, Trebius Longus, Trebia C. F. Filumena. Nay, as Salmasius remarks, there are some Ancient Manuscripts to be seen, wherein this very Author is called Trebius Pollio. Be it as it will, This Pollio, says Flavius Vopiscus in the Life of Aurelian, Has Composed an History of the Emperors both those that have render'd themselves famous, and those that have led obscure Lives, down from the two Philips to Claudius, and his Brother Quintilius. But there remains of this Authors, neither the Lives of the Philips, nor the Life of Decius, who succeeded the Philips; neither those of Gallus and Volusia.

## Six. Historians.

Volusianus, who came after Decius. Also we have only one part left of the Life of Valerianus the Father, towards the end: but we have that which follows, and also the Life of Valerianus the Son, the Lives of the two Gallieni, and of the thirty Tyrants who usurped the Empire in the time of Gallienus.

As to his Book, which he Entitl'd of the thirty Tyrants, it seems to have a respect to the thirty Tyrants which Commanded in Athens after Ly-sander; and without doubt this Author had a fancy to parallel the Roman Empire with that State, in having also thirty Tyrants in the time of Valerianus and Gallienus, because there were several. But he reckons no more than twenty nine, wherefore to make up the number of thirty he adds Valens to them, who liv'd before, and indeed he himself owns that he revolted in the time of Decius. But if we may exceed the time of Valerianus, and Gallienus, we may add a great many more besides Valens. Howsoever so small a fault as this scarce deserves Criticising upon the Judgment of this Historian: and there is yet less reason to reflect on him for his admitting two Women into his List of Tyrants, viz. Zenobia and Victoria: for it is common to denominate things from the Nobler Gender; thus you see Women admitted into the number of Illustrius Poets, as Sappho and Corinna; but for this Trebellius excuses himself at the latter end of his Work. He liv'd in the time of Constantius Chlorus, Father of Constantinus.

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stantinus, as we may easily Conjecture, since he mentions him in the beginning of the Life of the Emperor Claudius, Brother of Quintilius. Which agrees very well with what he says of his Uncles being a Familiar Friend of the young Tetricus one of the thirty Tyrants.

Vopiscus commends the diligence of this Historian at the beginning of the Life of Firmus. Furthermore, if we consider the time wherein he lived, his Language and Stile are not unworthy of praise, whereof Gesner in the first Tome of his Bibliotheca, gives this Encomium, that they are not without both Politeness and Nicety; but that in some places his Stile rises a little too high for History: and Vossius is of the same Opinion.

Flavius

## Six Historians.

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# Flavius Vopiscus.

**T**HIS Author, a Sicilian Born at Syracuse, has writ the Life of the Emperor Aurelian, and also of Tacitus, and his Brother Florianus; to which he likewise adds that of Probus, which he Dedicates to Rufus Celsus, as he calls him in the Life of Firmus. Afterwards he Composed those of the four Tyrants, Firmus, Saturninus, Proculus and Bonosus, and lastly those of the three Emperors Carus, Numerianus, and Carinus at once, which is all remains of his; for we have no Author that attributes any thing else to him. As for the time wherein he liv'd we have sufficient Authorities to ascertain it. He tells us himself that his Uncle was present at that Harangue made when Aper was killed by Dioclesian. In the Life of Carinus he Celebrates the praises of Dioclesian and Maximian, of Galerius and Constantius, and says that each of their Lives was written in so many particular Books by Claudius Eusthenius, Secretary to Dioclesian: And says on that very Subject, it must not be Expected that he should do the same, because it is very dangerous to Write the Histories of Princes while they are alive. Whence it is Evident that he  
lived

## The Liyes of the

lived after the time Constantius Chlorus, Father of Constantinus. And he says in the Life of Aurelian, We have at present Constantius for our Emperor. But I am apt to think that that was the first Life he Writ, and that he Composed that of Carinus after the death of Constantius: for if it be not so, in the rooms of Constantius we must read the Emperor Constantinus, or else understand Constantius, Son of the said Constantinus. But the first of these two Opinions is far the most probable; and certainly, by those words which we find in the Life of Probus, it is Evident that he Writ long before that the life of Aurelian, viz. But since no other undertakes it, I cannot suffer, after having been the only Person that has Writ the Life of *Aurelian* (which I did as exactly as I could), and having also Composed the Lives of *Tacitus* and *Florianus*, that that of *Probus*, and the memory of his glorious Actions should lye buried in silence. If I live I design also to write all the Lives of the Princes since his time down to Maximian and Dioclesian. Methinks we have reason to praise, in Vopiscus, besides his Learning, the order whicb he always observes, in the recital of what he Writes; whicb Spartianus, Capitolinus, and the other Authors of the Imperial History have not took so much care of, since in the Judgment of several, Affairs therein are far more Confused. He had likewise proposed to himself to Write the Life of Apollonius Tyanaeus, whose Sorceries the Gentiles made use of to oppose, and set up against the true Miracles of Jesus Christ, and in the Life of Aureliani he calls that Impostor,

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*stor, A Person who had acquir'd a vast Reputation by his Wisdom, in the ancient Opinions of the Philosophers, a real Friend of Truth, and worthy of Divine Honours. And a little after. What Person was ever seen more holy, more venerable, more possessed of the Opinions of the Ancients, and more Divine among Men? He restored Life to the Dead, and both spoke, and did many things above the reach of human Power. But if any one would know more as to the particulars, let him read those Grecian Authors who have written his Life. From these words it is easie to guess, what a Rhapsody of Lies we might have expected from Vopiscus concerning this Person, whom he so much admired, if he had writ his Life, which he presently after promises in Language which sufficiently testifies the Veneration he paid to his memory.*

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Vol. II.

A. Christi  
CXXXVI.

THE  
Life and Reign  
OF THE  
EMPEROR  
*Maximin the First.*

Address'd to the EMPEROR  
*Constantine the Great,*

BY  
JULIUS CAPITOLINUS.

VOL. II.

**M**AXIMIN the First was a *Barbarian* Born, of a Village of the Province of *Romania*, that is, the Antient *Tbrace*. His Father's *Name* was *Mecca*, his Mother's *Hababa*: The one a *Goth*, the other an *Alan*. Under the Reign of the Emperor *Septimius Severus*, he became

became first a Soldier. Under the Reign of the Emperor *Alexander Severus* he Rose and Flourish'd; insomuch that he succeeded him in the Empire; and being unwilling, after he was Emperor, to have it known, that his Father and his Mother were both *Barbarians*, he ordered the Names of them, which he had discovered at the beginning, to be as much as was possible, suppressed again, and concealed from the World.

He was a Shepherd in the beginning of his Youth; and as he grew, he sometimes even then, was the Champion of the Village of which he was. His First Service as a Soldier, was amongst the Horse, because of his great size and strength of Body, which fitted him more especially and cut him out for a Trooper. He acquitted himself in that Quality to admiration. He was of a Manly Look, Rough-hewn, Fierce, Proud, apt to Contemn; which yet did not hinder him from being oftentimes

*His Rise.* Just in what he did. The Occasion which introduc'd him into the Knowledge of the Emperor *Septimius Severus*, was this: That Prince, upon the Birth of *Geta* his younger Son, appointed a Divertisement of some Games and Exercises to be performed by the Soldiers, and proposed Prizes for the Conquerors, in pieces of Silver of fine Bracelets, Collars, and little Bells. *Maximin* was as yet a Youth, and could scarce speak the Latin Tongue. However he took the Courage upon him, in Words which were partly Latin and partly *Tbracian*, publickly to beg leave of the Emperor, that  
he

he might try his Skill against some who appeared in the Lists, and who were Men of a more than ordinary Account amongst the Soldiers. *Severus* admiring him for his Size, match'd him, being a *Barbarian*, not with the Soldiers, but some of the stoutest Slaves and Drudges of the Camp; of whom he overcame sixteen one after another: for which he received as many *Premiums*, proportionable to the meanness of the Combat, that is, they were of an inferiour Value to those that were appointed for the Soldiers; and withal he was ordered to be taken into the Army. Another day as *Severus* went to the Camp, he observed *Maximin* in the Crowd Dancing and Leaping after the *Barbarian* way. *Severus* ordered a Tribune to Reform him, according to the Discipline of the *Romans*. *Maximin* understanding that the Emperor had spoken of him, and being proud to be taken Notice of, advanced to the side of the Emperors Horse, and began to Run by him as he Rid. *Severus*, to try his Running, gave a loose to his Horse, and took several Rounds, till fatigued by reason of his Age, and seeing *Maximin* still keep close by him, *You Thracian*, says he to him, can you *Wrestle* as well as you *Run*? Sir, says *Maximin*, as much as you please. After this *Severus* dismounted, and ordered some of the freshest and the strongest Soldiers to be pickt out, to *Wrestle* with him: *Maximin* overthrew seven of these one after another, without Breathing; for which he received the before-mention'd Prizes in Silver, and *Severus*

B 2 . . . besides,

*His Pre-  
ferment.*

besides, did him the particular Honour to present him with a Collar of Gold, and he placed him in his *Guards du Corps*, because he should be always by him. This made *Maximin* a Remarkable Man, and acquired him a great Esteem. The Tribunes loved him. His Fellow-Soldiers admired him. He obtained of the Emperor any thing that he desired; who preferred him above the rest of the Soldiers, though he was as yet a Youth. He excelled all in the Height and Vastness of his Body, with which he had at the same time a good Meen; and in the largeness of his Eyes, which were no less Bright and Handsome. It is certain, that *Maximin* often drank Eight *Ampbors* of Wine in a day; and eat either Forty, or as *Aelius Cardus* says, Sixty pound of Flesh. But he kept himself wholly from Herbs, and rarely eat any Cold Meats, unless it was, when he was under a necessity of drinking. He often preserved his Sweat, and received it into Cups, or a little Vessel for the purpose; so that he could shew you, two or three Quarts of his Sweat at a time.

Under the Reign of *Antoninus Caracallus*, he long Commanded as a Centurion, and conducted Parties, and served several other Occasions of the Army. He hated the succeeding Reign of *Opilius Macrinus*; because that Prince had been the Author of the Murder of *Antoninus Caracallus*, who was the Son of *Severus*, who was *Maximin's* first Master. In this Reign therefore he quitted the Army, and bought himself an Estate in a Village of *Romania*,

mania, where he was born. There he continually entertain'd a Commerce with the *Goths*. The *Goths* loved him entirely, as if he was their own Fellow-Citizen : The *Alans* did the same, and brought him, whenever they approached to the Banks of the River, Presents, which he returned in others to them again. But when *Opilius Macrinus*, together with his Son, was killed, and *Maximin* found that *Heliogabalus* was preferred to the Empire, as the Reputed Son of *Antoninus Caracallus*, *Maximin*, who was then of a mature Age, waited upon him with a Complement, That as he had had the Honour of the good Opinion of his Grandfather the Emperor *Severus*, so he wish'd, he might be so happy as to have his.

*Heliogabalus* rallied with him in his Impure way, and said, *Maximin, Thou hast Tyred thy* His Reception  
*Sixteen or Twenty, or sometimes Thirty Lusty Sol-* from *He-*  
*diers I bear, in Playing and Wrestling with them;* *How many Times canst thou Perform with a Wo-*  
*man; I warrant thee, thou canst do that Thirty*  
*times too.* *Maximin*, not satisfied with this sort of Reception, would have retired himself into the Country again, but that the Friends of *Heliogabalus* detained him, and thought it a Scandal to let the Bravest Man of the Age go off so, who was another *Hercules*, another *Achilles*, another *Ajax*, as the People called him. They did him the Honour to Create him a Tribune; but yet he never attended upon the Person of that most Impure Prince, nor came to salute him in all the three Years of his Reign; but was always either moving from

place to place upon one specious Occasion or other, or he pretended himself Sick, that he could not wait upon the Court.

After *Heliogabalus* was killed, and that *Maximin* had an Account, that *Alexander Severus* the Son of *Mammæs*, was advanced to the Empire, he came to *Rome*; where he was received by the New Prince with all the Joy and all the Satisfaction in the World. Insomuch that he spoke to the Senate of him in these Words: *Gentlemen, Maximin the Tribune is come to me, who could not reconcile himself to the Service of that Impure Beast my Predecessor. I have given him a Robe Embroidered with Studs of Gold. His Merit recommended him to my Father the Emperor Septimius Severus, and you know the Reputation that he hath attained to since.* Immediately he gave the Command of the Fourth Legion, which was one that himself had raised, and consisted all of young Soldiers; and at the same time he expressed himself thus:

*My very dear and entirely Beloved Maximin, I have not thought fit to Trouble you with the Command of a Legion of Old Soldiers for this reason; because I question, whether the Vices of such, being confirmed in them under the Command of others, are capable of your Amendment. I give you a Legion of Novices, whom you may bring up your self to your own band. Mould them, Form them as you please. It will be a great Service to the State and to me, to teach them their Arms so, that they may produce many Maximins, that is, many such good Soldiers as you.*

No sooner had *Maximin* received this Legion, but he began to Exercise them. Every fifth Day he did the same; and represented with them Fights and the Taking of Towns. He inspected their Swords, Javelins, Targets, Helmets, Cloaths, and all their Arms and Equipages perpetually, to their very Shooes. He was as a Father to them. And when some of the other Tribunes pretended to blame him, saying; *Why should you take so much Pains, who are in a Post to be preferred to be a General when you please?* Says he, *The Greater I ever am, the more Pains I shall take still.* He Wrestled with his Men himself, and Threw half a dozen or more of them one after another, though perhaps he was an Old Man grown to them then: This created him much Envy. One Tribune particularly, who was Prouder and more Angry than the rest, and of a large Size, and known Gallantry, said to him; *What great Matter is it for a Tribune to Throw his own Soldiers?* Says *Maximin*, *Shall you and I try then our Strength together?* The other consented: But *Maximin* gave him such a Thrust with his open Hand on his Breast as he came, that he fell flat upon his Back; and *Maximin* cryed, *Come on any other Tribune that will.* *Aelius Cordus* tells us, that *Maximin* was such a Vast Man, that he was Eight Foot and almost a half High. His Hand so big, that his Wife's Bracelet for her Arm made him but a Ring for his Thumb. These other things are commonly reported of him, That he could draw a Chariot after him by his Arms, and move a

*Himighty  
Strength.*

loaded Litter himself ; That if he gave a Horse a Blow on the Mouth with his Fist, he struck out his Teeth ; and if he Kicked him, he broke his Legs. Hard Stones he squeezed into pieces betwixt his Fingers : The younger Trees he tore up. Some have call'd him a second *Milo*, a *Hercules*, and an *Antæus*, for his Strength and Vastness.

*He is  
made a  
General.*

These things therefore rendring him so Conspicuous, the Emperor *Alexander Severus*, who was a great Judge of Persons of Merit, preferred him to the General Command of his Army, with the universal Satisfaction of all the Tribunes, Officers, and Men. This was afterwards Fatal to that Prince. All that Army which was grown in a manner unserviceable, under the Reign of *Heliogabalus*, *Maximin* brought to be Disciplined to his own mind. So that when *Alexander Severus* was in *Gallia*, Encamped not far from some Town there, whether it was that *Maximin* set the Soldiers upon him, as some say ; or whether it was, the disaffected Tribunes amongst the *Gauls*, whom *Alexander Severus* Disbanded (for he Disbanded whole Legions there, with the same severity as before he had done in the East) I know not ; but a Party of Soldiers broke in on a sudden upon him, and killed both him and his Mother ; and *Maximin* was immediately proclaimed Emperor. The Age of *Alexander Severus*, who was otherwise an excellent Prince, was one thing that might be liable to create in some measure a Contempt of him.

*Maximin,*

Maximin, who never was any thing but a Soldier, and had not yet been a Senator, was Proclaimed Emperor by the Army, without any Decree of the Senate; and his Son (of whom hereafter) was given him to be his Colleague: Now *Maximin* was always so Wise, that he not only Commanded his Soldiers by his Authority, but he made them love him very much, by the Rewards and Advantages that he gave them. He never injured them in their Pay. He never Mustered Smiths or any sort of Artisans as others do in his Army. He often took them to Hunt with him. But together with these Vertues, he was so Cruel, that he was called by all the Names of His Cruelty. a Cyclops, a Busyris, a Sciron, a Phalaris, a Typhon, and a Gyges. The Senate dreaded him so, that their Wives and Children made Prayers in the Temples, in publick and in private, that he might never see the City of *Rome*. They had heard, how in his method of Reforming the Discipline of the Army, some he Crucified, some he stuffed into the Bodies of Beasts newly killed, some he cast alive to Wild Beasts, some he Cudgel'd to death, and all this without distinction of the Quality of the Person. They feared, he would pretend to Reform the State the same way: which yet is not a Course for a Prince to take, who designs to be Loved. But it was *Maximin's* Persuasion, that the Empire was not to be held by him without Cruelty. He suspected, that the Nobility wou'd contemn his Low and *Barbarian* Birth. He remembred, that he had been slighted

slighted at *Rome* formerly, even by the Servants of some of the Nobility, who would not admit him to see them. And as the Consciousness of an Ignoble Mind is of strange Effect, he thought, that as many as were privy to his Base Original, would use him accordingly still. All such therefore he Killed, and amongst those, some that had been his Friends, and had given him often several things in Charity and Pity to the poor Condition he was in, at his first coming to *Rome*. Never was any thing on the Earth crueller than he. He thought himself almost Immortal; he scarce thought he could be Killed; he confideth so much upon his Strength and the Magnitude of his Body, and his Parts. But, as an Epigram said, which was made upon him in relation to this, *He that cannot be killed by one, is to be killed by many; As Great as an Elephant is, an Elephant is to be Killed; As Strong as a Lion is, a Lion is to be Killed; As Strong as a Tyger is, a Tyger is to be Killed; So he that does not fear to be killed by One Man, let him have a care however of a Number.* This Epigram was repeated by a Mimick in his presence from the Stage. But being repeated in Greek, which was a Language which he who was a Thracian and a Barbarian did not understand, and not being told the true meaning of it, it pass'd upon him. He retained no Persons of the Nobility about him. He Reigned like another *Spartacus* or an *Atbenion*, with a Court, as it were of Mobb. All the Ministers of *Alexander Severus* he put to Death after several ways. He envied the Designs

Designs of that Prince, and his Disposition of things; and the Suspicion which he had of every one who had served or loved him, provoked *Maximin* to be more and more Cruel.

This being his way, to Live and Reign like a Fury, he was made yet far more Cruel and Inhumane by a Conspiracy against him of one *Magnus* a Consul, who with a number of Soldiers and Centurions, had laid a design to Kill him, and to Translate the Empire upon himself. The Manner that they pretended to take to do it was this: *Maximin* having made a Bridge to pass the River into *Germany*, the Conspirators who were to accompany him, after he was Landed, were to break the Bridge and Kill him, and cry, he was killed by an Ambuscade of the Enemy. In the mean time *Magnus* should take upon him the Empire. It is true, *Maximin*, as he perfectly understood the matter of War, was fond of that War against the *Germans*: He knew his being a good Soldier was the occasion that he was made Emperor; and he was ambitious to keep up the Reputation which he had, and to outshine particularly the Glory of the late Prince, whom he had Murdered. He kept his Men daily to their Exercises, when he was Emperor, as he did when he was a Tribune: He put himself in Arms at the Head of them, and with his Hand and the movements of his Body, taught them a great many things. But whether or no, that Plot of *Magnus* to Kill him, was real, or whether it was a Fiction of *Maximin's* own, for an opportunity to increase the matter of his Cruelty,

*A Conspi-  
racy a-  
gainst him*

Cruelty, I cannot say. However it was, he put to Death above four thousand Men upon it, and was not satisfied neither with all that Blood. He put them all to Death without Informer, without Accuser appearing against them, without Tryal, without any Defence of themselves; and all their Estates he Confiscated.

*The Re-  
volt of the  
Auxilia-  
ries.*

The Emperor *Alexander Severus* had taken into his Army a Body of Auxiliaries of *Partbians*, *Mesopotamians*, and others out of the *East*, who being excellent Archers, he judged would be of great Use in the War against the *Germans*. These Archers upon the Death of that Prince, whom they very much loved, Revolted from *Maximin*, because they would not be persuaded, but that *Maximin* had been the Author of this Murder. They set up *Titus Quartinus*, who was a Captain of their own, to be their General and their Emperor. They put upon him the Purple, and adorned him with all the State of a Person in such a Place. *Titus* complied with them in it, but it was against his Will: But being afterwards killed in his Tent as he lay asleep by one of his own Men called *Macedon*, who envied him only because he was Preferred before him, and his Head being brought to *Maximin*, this Defection ceased; and *Maximin* at first gave Thanks to *Macedon* for the Service which he had done him; but afterwards he hated him as a Traitor, and put him to Death. Still this Defection served to increase the Tyranny of *Maximin*; as a Beast when he is Wounded, frets

and

and rages so much the more for it. He pass'd into *Germany* with all his Army : The *Moors*, *Parthians*, *Mesopotamians*, and all those that *Alexander Severus* had mustered out of the Countries of the *East*, marched with him ; For being Light, and the best Archers, none were of greater Use against the *Germans* than they. The Preparations of *Alexander Severus* for this War had been great : But yet *Maximin* added such things to them, as rendred them much more Puissant and more Formidable.

He passed the *Rhine*, and entring into *Germany*, he Burnt the Villages of the Enemy for three or four hundred Miles about. He drove <sup>His Expeditio-</sup> *against the Germans*. their Cattel, killed great numbers of the *Bar-  
barians*, took innumerable others Prisoners, and made his Army Rich with Plunder. He had certainly reduced all the Country of *Germany* under the Obedience of the *Romans*, but that the *Germans* betook themselves to Swim the Rivers and the Lakes, and to seek their shelter in the Woods. He did a great deal with his own Hand : He had indeed been cut off in a Lake, in which his Horse stuck fast, and the Enemy surrounded him, but that his Men came timely up to his Rescue. It was a piece of his *Barbarian* Temerity to think, that an Emperor ought always to Fight with his own Hand. He maintain'd a sort of a Naval Fight in the Lake, and killed several. So *Germany* being conquer'd, he wrote an Account of it to the Senate and People of *Rome*, to this Purpose :

It is impossible, Fathers of the Senate, to express all that we have done: For 400 Miles about we have Burnt the Villages of the Germans, driven away their Cattel, taken Prisoners, and slain all that opposed us. We maintained a Fight in a Lake. We had penetrated their Woods, but that the depth of their Lakes permitted us no passage over to them.

Together with this, he ordered Pictures of this War, as it was, to be drawn and laid before the Senate, that they might read, as well as hear his Exploits. Which Pictures after his death the Senate commanded to be taken down and burnt. Indeed he hated the Senate in his heart, because he imagined that they despised him. In all his other Engagements, which were many, he came off always Conqueror, and took great Booties, and many Prisoners. He says in another Letter which he sent to the Senate, thus:

*In so short a time, Fathers of the Senate, I have Fought more Battels than any of the Antients ever did. I have brought away as much Booty from the Enemy's Country, into our own, as exceeds all manner of Expectation; And so many Captives, that the Dominions of the Empire are scarce sufficient to hold them.*

*Hedesigns* From Germany he came to the City Sirmium upon Sclavonia, intending to make War upon the Sarmatæ; and very ambitious he was to reduce the Northern Parts as far as to the Ocean, unto the Obedience of the Roman Empire. Which if he had lived, he would have done, says Herodian, who favours him, out of

a Prejudice, it is to be thought, to *Alexander Severus*. But when the People of *Rome* were no longer able to support his Cruelty, because he revived the Practises of the Informers and false Accusers, Counterfeited Plots to kill the Innocent, Condemned all that came before him without Mercy, made Beggars of the richest Men, and raised himself Money upon others Ruins; put to Death divers who had been Consuls, and Great Commanders without cause; sent for them from the utmost Bounds of the Empire, in a Barbarous manner, to appear before him; kept others in Prison, and omitted nothing in fine, that seemed to flatter his Cruel Inclinations, they resolved to Revolt. And not the *Romans* only, but the Forces that were in *Africa*; because he was so Cruel upon the Soldiers, Conspired in their Opinions with the *Romans*, and made a great and a sudden Revolt, in which they set up *Gordianus* to be Emperor, who was the Proconsul of *Africa*, and a Person of much Worth, in this manner :

There was a Receiver of the Exchequer in *Libya*, who in favour of *Maximin*, to raise him the more Money, grievously Exacted upon every body; till the People of the Country, and some of the Soldiers fell upon him and killed him, in spight of the Opposition of his Party which defended him, and which stood up for the Honour and the Interests of *Maximin*. The Proconsul of *Africa* at this time, was *Gordianus*; a Man advanced in Years, but of very great Worth and Virtue, which made him to be beloved;

*A univer-*  
*sal Revolt.*

Gordian  
forc'd to  
accept the  
Empire.

loved ; and one who had been put into that Command by the Emperor *Alexander Severus*, with the Concurrence of the Senate. Now the Party that had killed that Receiver of the Exchequer to *Maximin*, could not think themselves in safety after what they had done, unless they proceeded to some further Measures, which might give a New Turn to the Face of Affairs. So they came to *Gordianus* to constitute him Emperor. He threw himself upon the ground, and refused it with all the Aversion and Earnestness in the World. They drew their Swords upon him, and presented all their Arms against him to kill him, unless he complied with them, upon the place ; and not only him, but his Son after him, and all his House. Then he consented. He accepted the Purple, and was Proclaimed, he and his Son together as his Colleague, at the Town of *Tyberius*. From thence he came to *Carthage*, attended with a Body of Guards, and all the Pomp of a Prince. He sent an Account from *Carthage* of what had passed to *Rome*, to the Senate ; who received his Letters with Joy, and acknowledg'd and Proclaim'd him and his Son Emperors of *Rome*.

All the Delators that had Pimp'd to *Maximin*, and all his Friends, particularly *Vitalianus* the Captain of the Guards, were hereupon put to death, and *Sabinus* the Gouvernour of the City of *Rome*, was knocked on the head in the Streets. The Senate at the same time, openly, and publickly declared *Maximin* and his Son Enemies : They sent Letters into all the Provinces, to call upon them to Assist to the Common

mon Safety and the Publick Liberty: Which Letters were generally received well; some few Towns continu'd in their Fidelity to *Maximin*, and betrayed the Orders and Persons that were sent to them. In all others, the Friends, Magistrates, Commanders, Tribunes and Soldiers of *Maximin*, followed the Fate of his other Friends at *Rome*. The Senate's Letter to the Provinces was this:

To all Proconsuls, Presidents, Lieutenants, Com- The Se-  
manders, Tribunes, Magistrates, and to all Cities, nates  
Free Towns, Towns, Villages, and Castles; The Letter.  
Senate and People of Rome, whose Deliverance  
from the Tyranny of the most Cruel Maximin is  
Commenc'd by the Princes the Gordiani, with  
Health and the same Safety with themselves. By  
the Favour of the Gods, we have obtained Gor-  
dianus, a Person of the greatest Merit and Virtue,  
a Senator, and a Proconsul, to be our Sov-  
reign. We have Proclaimed him. And not him  
alone, but his Son in Conjunction with him, who  
is a Noble Youth, for the greater Security of the  
State. It is for you to Concur with Us, to the  
Common Good and Safety; to oppose in the mean  
time the wicked Designs of those that threaten us;  
and as for Maximin and his Friends, where ever  
they are, to pursue them to Death. We have ad-  
judged him an Enemy, together with his Son.

Now the Act of the Senate for Constituting  
the two Gordiani, the Father and the Son, Em-  
perors, pass'd in this manner: On the 6th.  
of the Calends of June, the Senate being Assem-  
bled in the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Junius*  
*Syllanus* the Consul, read the Letter of *Gordia-*

nus to them, which he had received out of Africa. The Letter was this.

*Fathers of the Senate, It was altogether against my Will, that the People of this Country, and the Army to whom the preservation of it is committed, have called me to the Empire. But with an eye to you, I content myself to sustain that Necessity. It is for you to consider what you will do. For till I receive the Judgment of the Senate, I shall be uncertain and full of doubt, what course to take.*

As soon as this Letter was read, the Senate Answered it in these Acclamations.

*The Gods preserve our Augustus, and our Emperor Gordianus. The Gods give a happy Reign to your Majesty, who hath Delivered us. May your Majesty, who is our Deliverer, Reign in safety. The State is see in you. We give you all possible Thanks.*

Then the Consul moved the Senate, and said: *Fathers of the Senate, what is your Judgment as to the Maximins?* They cryed, *Enemies, Enemies.* The Consul moved the Senate again, and said, *What is your Judgment as to the Friends and Adherents of Maximin?* They cryed, *Enemies, Enemies!* whoever kills them, shall receive a Præmium.

Then these Acclamations followed: *Let the Enemy of the Senate be Crucified. Let the Enemies of the Senate in all Parts be destroyed. Let the Enemies of the Senate be burnt Alive. The Gods save our two Emperors the Gordiani! May you both Live; May you both Reign together in Happiness! We Decree the Praetorship to Gordianus the Third, the Grandson. We promise a Consulship*

ship to the Grandson of Gordianus. Let the Grandson of Gordianus receive the Title of Cæsar. Let Gordianus the Third, enter upon the Office of a Praetor.

When this Ordinance of the Senate was brought to *Maximin*, he, who was naturally fierce, broke out into such a rage and passion, you would think him more like a Lion than a Man. He beat himself against the Wall, and sometimes threw himself upon the ground. He roared extravagantly, and drew his Sword, as if he would kill the Senate : he tore in pieces his Royal Cloaths, and struck at such as were next him ; and if his own Son had not retired out of his way, they say, he would have pull'd out his Eyes. The reason of his Passion against his Son was this : He had ordered him at their first entrance to the Empire, to go and live at *Rome* ; which his Son out of his too great love to his Father, having neglected, *Maximin* thought, that if but his Son had been at *Rome*, the Senate would never have dared to attempt this Revolt. Whilst he was in this extream Passion, his Friends carried him to his Bed. The next day, because he could not otherwise contain himself, nor lay aside the thoughts of his Resentments, they set him to drown them in Wine ; which he did. The day after he assembled a Council of his Friends, to consider what was best to be done. They said little ; some of them in their hearts applauded the Act of the Senate. From this Council, he went to his Army ; whom he harangued in a Speech, which was full of Passion against *Gordianus*.

dianus and the *Africans* that had set him up, and especially against the Senate; and then he exhorts them to Revenge their common Injuries. The Speech was this:

*His Speech  
to the Ar-  
my.*

My Fellow-Soldiers, I am to tell you a Thing, which you will not think to be any News to you, you know the Country so well, which is this; The Africans have revolted and broken their Faith with me. I would fain know, when did they ever keep it with any? Gordianus a feeble Old Man, with one Foot in the Grave, hath taken upon him the Empire. And our Holy Fathers of the Senate, have made his Son Emperor, with him. Those most Holy Fathers of the Senate! who, as they once Murdered the Twice Noble Julius Cæsar, so now they have adjudged me an Enemy, at the same time that I am Fighting for them, and Conquering for them. Nor is it Me only, whom they have adjudged so, but You and all that are with me. Therefore if you are Men, and Men of Bravery and Courage, let us march against the Senate and against the Africans, and you shall have all their Estates amongst you.

Having said this, he gave them a great Bounty, and began to March them towards Rome. In the mean time *Gordianus* in Africa having displaced *Capellianus* from the Government of the Province of *Mauritania*, because he was a Friend of *Maximin*, *Capellianus* had put himself upon his defence, and gathered together a Body of Men against him. *Gordianus* the Father sent his Son *Gordianus* to meet and Fight *Capellianus*. They Engaged one another with great obstinacy. *Gordianus* was killed and lost

the

the Battle : which his Father much lamenting, *Young Gordianus slain.* and knowing that *Maximin* was very strong, and that on the contrary the *Africans* were a People not sufficient for him to trust to, and full of Treachery, he, rather than to fall into the hands of *Maximin*, put an end to his own *Old Gordianus kills himself.* days, and Strangled himself.

*Capelianus* made good use of this Victory. He slew and proscribed all he found of the Party of *Gordianus*; he spared none, as if he acted with the very Soul of *Maximin* in him. He subverted whole Cities, plundered the Temples, distributed the Booty of the Temples amongst his Soldiers. He cut in pieces Poor and Rich together; ingratiating himself much with the Soldiers, that in case *Maximin* should dye, himself might have a fair hit for the Empire.

When the News of this was brought to *Rome*, the Senate being more in fear than ever upon it, of the Cruelty of *Maximin*, which upon so much provocation given, he had Reason, as much as it was his Nature, to exert, they set up *Pupienus Maximus* and *Clodius Balbinus* to be Emperors, together with *Gordianus the Third*, a Youth, who was the Grandson of *Gordianus the First*. So they had three Emperors to support them against *Maximin*, at once. The first had been the Gouvernour of the City of *Rome*; had passed through many high Offices with reputation, and was one of great Worth and Note, but not of Birth. As he was of the severer Life, so was he the most Prudent and most Valorous of all the three:

C ; and

and therefore both the Senate and *Balbinus*, his Brother, who was a more easie Man, committed the War against *Maximin* to him. He went, *Balbinus* tarried at *Rome*; where there arose intestine Broils and domestick Seditions in a manner that was more violent, than *Balbinus* was able to suppress; till the Soldiers of the Guards cut in pieces several of the People. *Gallicanus* and *Mecenas* were particularly killed in this Fray, and a great part of the City was burnt.

*Maximin* was well refreshed, to hear of the death of *Gordianus* and his Son, and of the Victory of *Capelianus*. But when again he received the further News of the Act of the Senate for the constituting *Maximus*, *Balbinus*, and *Gordianus* Emperors, he concluded that the Hatred of the Senate to him was Perpetual, and that they did all really make him a publick Enemy; so he was the more violent to advance his Expedition into Italy: He crossed the *Alps*, and came to *Hemonia*, a City which anciently stood in the way to *Aquileia*. Some say he found this City empty, and deserted, which he was pleased to see, as if it was, that they had all ceded to the Power of his Arm. However it was, when he came to Encamp on the Plain, he could not find Provisions to recruit his Army. For the People of the Country, according to the Advices that were sent them, had every where driven their Cattel and their Provisions, and retired within the Town, on purpose that *Maximin* and his Army should perish for want of Provisions.

This

This incensed his Army against him. They did not think to be starved in *Italy*, but to be mightily refreshed after their Journey over the *Alps*. They began first to murmur within themselves, then to speak some things openly, which he pretending to revenge upon them, they Mutined still more; but deferred to discover it, till a convenient time, which presented it self not long after. He advanced to the City of *Aquileia*; who shut their Gates against him, and were resolved to defend themselves, under the Conduct of *Menophilus* and *Crispinus*, two Officers of the Order of the Consuls, who were sent to them from the Senate. He offered them Propositions, whereon to Surrender: To which the People had well nigh consented, but that *Menophilus* and his Partner withstood them, and said, That they were assured of Conquering *Maximin*; because *Apollo*, the Tutelar God of the Place, had discovered as much to them by his Soothsayers. Hence the Party of *Maximin*, after they were defeated, took occasion to say, That it was *Apollo* who fought against them; and the Victory which was obtained, was not a Victory of *Maximus*, nor of the Senate, but it was a Victory of the Gods. At least they pretended to say this for themselves, because they were ashamed indeed, that so weak and so ill-provided a Place had held it out against so strong an Army. *Maximin* passed the River upon a Bridge of Boats, and began to lay close Siege to it. This Service was hot on both sides. *Maximin* and his Son went round the Walls,

Maximus  
besieges  
*Aquileia*.

as near as possible, and sometimes encouraged on their Men, sometimes made Overtures to those in the Town. But all did them no great good. Both his Son and he had many Reproaches thrown upon them, because of the Beauty of the one, and the Cruelty of the other. At length thinking that it was the Laziness of his Officers, which was the cause that the Siege was protracted, he put some of those to death, at a time when he the least should have done it; because it made his Army the more dissatisfied with him. In the mean time his Army was in a great want of Provisions: For the Senate had sent Orders to all the Provinces, and to the Governours of the Ports, that they should suffer no Convoys to pass to him: They had also sent Praetors and Quæstors to all Towns to keep strong Guards, and to dispose all manner of things, to his prejudice. So that he who was the Besieger, suffered the distress of Persons besieged. And it was said, that all the World conspired to hate him. His Soldiers seeing this, and fearing what might be the Consequences of it, whose Wives and Children were assembled together upon the Mountain *Albano* not far off, they took their opportunity, when they were at leisure from Action, and whilst *Maximin* and his Son were repos'd in their Tent about Noon, to fall upon them, and kill them. Their Heads they fix'd upon Spears, and shew'd them to the Garrison of *Aquileia*. The Statues and Images that were of *Maximin* in the Camp, were immediately defaced and taken down; the

Both the  
*Maximins*  
slain.

the Captain of the Guards to him killed, with others of his particular Friends, and the Heads of both the Father and the Son were sent to *Rome*.

This was the End of the two *Maximins*. An End, just upon the Father, who deserved it for his Cruelty, as much as it was severe upon the Son, who was a good Prince. All the Provinces received the News with great joy. But the Barbarians regretted his loss. His Army submitted: whereof such as were declared publick Enemies, were put to death; the rest were received by the Town of *Aquileia*: A great Convoy of Provisions was sent to them into their Camp, which was almost starving, and the next day they all took the Oath of Fidelity to *Maximus*, *Balbinus*, and *Gordianus*; Adored before their Images, and acknowledged the <sup>Three new Emperors.</sup> two late *Gordiani* as Gods, who had lost their Lives in the Cause against *Maximin*.

It is not easie to expreſs the great Joy that appeared, as the Head of *Maximin* was carried through the Country of *Italy* to *Rome*. Every body was glad to run to meet it. The Emperor *Maximus* was then at *Ravenna*; where he had raised himself some Auxiliary Troops of the *Germans*, and was making Preparations for the War. But as soon as he received the News, that the *Maximins* were both killed, and that their Army had yielded, and sworn Fidelity to him and his Colleagues, he dismissed those Troops, and immediately writ Letters of the Victory to *Rome*: where it produced such an Universal Joy, that every body repaired to the Altars,

Altars, Temples, the Chappels and the Religious Houses, to give Thanks unto the Gods for it. The Emperor *Balbinus*, who was by nature a Timerous Man, and who trembled when he but heard the Name of *Maximin*, offered a Sacrifice of an hundred Beasts, and ordered the same to be repeated through all the Cities of *Italy*. Then *Maximus* returned to *Rome*: Coming to the Senate, he Congratulated to them the Success of his Expedition, and made a Speech. After which he, *Balbinus*, and *Gordianus*, went together to the Court, attended with all the usual Acclamations of Joy and Victory.

It is fit to know, what a Decree the Senate passed upon this, and what a Day it was with the People at *Rome*, when the News arrived of the Death of *Maximin*. The Express sent with it from *Aquileia*, took his way by *Ravenna* to deliver it first to the Emperor *Maximus*, and yet he made such haste by change of Horses, that he reached *Rome* in four days, which was never known done before. The two Emperors *Balbinus* and *Gordianus*, with all the People, were then assembled in the Theatre, at the Publick Divertisements. Immediately as the Express came into the Theatre, before he could have the time to say any thing, all the People cryed out with great Joy, *Maximin* is Killed; which was a grateful Hearing to the Emperors. So the Company rose, and every one went strait to the Temples and the Chappels, to return their Thanks to the Gods. From thence the Emperors went to the Senate, which Assembled

bled upon this Occasion, as likewise did the People; and after the Emperor *Balbinus* had read to the Senate the Letter which was arrived from *Maximus*, the Senate passed this Decree, as follows.

*The Gods Pursue the Enemies of the People of Rome. We return our Thanks to thee for the same, O most Excellent Jupiter, and to Thee, O Holy Apollo! We Thank the Emperor Maximus. We Thank Your Majesties bere present, Balbinus and Gordianus. We Decree Temples to the Honour of the Emperors the Gordiani, deceased. The Name of Maximin, as it hath already been erased out of the Publick Monuments, so now let it be erased out of our Thoughts, and be forgotten for ever. Let the Head of the Publick Enemy be thrown into the River, and no Man Bury his Body. He that threatened the Senate with Death and Bonds, is Killed as he deserved. We give our Thanks for it to your most Sacred Majesties, Maximus, Balbinus and Gordianus. The Gods Preserve you. We all wish you Victory over your Enemies. We all desire the Return and Presence of Maximus. The Gods Save Your Majesty Balbinus. Your Majesties will be pleased to be the Consuls this Year.*

After this, *Cupidius Celerinus* said thus.

*Having Erased the Name of the Maximins, and Deified the Emperors the Gordiani, we on the other hand Decree Triumphal Statues, with Elephants, to our present Princes Maximus, Balbinus,*

*binus, and Gordianus: We Decree them Tri-  
umphal Chariots, Statues on Horseback, and Tro-  
phies, upon the Subject of this Victory.*

Then the Senate Adjourn'd. The Emperors retired to the Palaces, and Publick Sacrifices were appointed throughout all the City of Rome.

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T H E

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THE  
Life and Reign  
OF THE  
EMPEROR  
*Maximin the Second.*  
TO THE  
EMPEROR  
*Constantine the Great,*

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BY  
JULIUS CAPITOLINUS.

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**M**AXIMIN the Second, or the Younger, and the Son of the foregoing, was a Youth of that extraordinary Beauty, that generally the Ladies of Wit were in Love with him: some of them even wished themselves a part in his Caresses, and to have Children by him. He was

*His Lear-  
ning and  
Masters.*

was so Tall, that had he lived, it is probable, he would have reach'd the heighth of his Father. But he dyed in the Flower of his Youth, in his one and twentieth Year, or, as some say, in his eighteenth. He had learn'd the Greek and Latin Languages to a Perfection. In the Greek his Master was *Fabilius*, who hath several Epigrams in the Greek, yet extant; and particularly some that he made upon the Picture of his Scholar. In the Latin he had the Grammarien *Philemon*, *Modestinus* the Lawyer, and *Titius* the Orator. The Father of which last was he, who hath written a Chorography of the Provinces of the Roman Empire, and was called the *Ape of his Age*; because he Imitated all things. He had a Greek Rhetorician called *Eugenius*, who was Famous in his time. *Junia Fadilla*, a Daughter of the Family of the Princes, the *Antonini*, was Contracted to him; who afterwards was Married to *Toxotius*, a Senator of the same Family, who dyed after his Praetorship, and hath written some Poems, which we have at this day. The Presents which were given to her by *Maximin* when he Contracted her, are particularly recounted by *Elips Cordus*. A Locket of nine great Pearls, a Head set with eleven Emeralds, a Bracelet of four Jacynths, Garments of Cloth of Gold, and all the Ornaments of Princely Attire, which were fit for a New Spouse.

As this *Maximin* was very Beautiful, so he carried a Pride to the highest degree: he kept himself Sitting, when his Father, as Cruel as he was, many times rose to Persons of Honour, that

that came to wait upon him. He was of a gay Humour, Drank little, but loved good Eating, especially of the wild Creatures of the Field; the Wild Boar, Duck, Crane, and the like, were his constant Dishes. Those of the Party of the Emperors *Maximus*, *Balbinus*, and *Gordianus*, and particularly the Senators, were willing to slander him because of his great Beauty: Pretending, that it was impossible, that so charming a Gift of the Gods could be kept uncorrupt. So also, when he went about the Walls of *Aquileia*, in Company with his Father, to persuade that City to a Surrender. All that they pretended to object against him, was, the matter of *Uncleanness*, because of his tempting Beauty, which however was very far from him. He was so Proper in his Cloaths, that no Lady in the World could be more. He was extreamly Obsequious to such as were of his Father's Friends; that is, so far as to give them what was in his power, and make them Largeſſes. But when they paid their Reverences to him, he received them in a manner, which was again as high. He gave them his Hand to kiss; he suffered them to kiss his Knees, and sometimes his Feet: which his Father would never do; who laid, *The Gods forbid, that any free-born Man should lay his Lips to my Feet.* Having mention'd his Father, I desire to insert one pleasant Passage of him. He was, as I have obſerved before in his Life, Eight Foot and almost a half high. Therefore his Shoe, or Royal Buskin, was given by ſome,

to be seen publickly, in a Religious House in a Grove, which is betwixt the City *Aquileia*, and a place called *Arzia*: which Shoe, it is certain, is bigger by a Foot, than the Measure of any other Man: And hence it is become a Proverb to say of one, who is of an extraordinary Height, without much Wit, *Caliga Maximini*; i. e. *He is the Print of Maximini*; *He treads in his Shoe*. But I return to speak of the Son.

The Emperor *Alexander Severus* in a Letter to his Mother *Mammæa*, appears to have had some thoughts of Matching this *Maximin* to his own Sister *Theoclia*. The Letter was this.

Madam,

I would propose to you, to Marry your Daughter *Theoclia* to the younger *Maximin*, did not his Father, who is a Commander in our Forces, and I assure you a very good one, retain something in him, that savours of the Barbarian. I fear my Sister, who is so acquainted with all the Politeness of the Grecian Education, will not endure a Father in Law of that Nature. Otherwise, as for the Youth himself, he is Beautiful and Ingenious, and seems to be bred, and polished to the Mœde of the Grecians too: This is what I think. You may please to consider with your self, whether you will rather choose to have to be your Son in Law Him, or *Messala*; who is of an Honourable Family, and a very Powerful Orator, a Learned Man, and who, if I mistake not, would make a good Soldier, if he was put to the War..

Thus

Thus that Prince speaks of the Younger *Maximin*. I have little more to add concerning him, besides a Letter of his Father's, expressing the Reasons of his creating him Emperor in conjunction with himself.

*I, says he; have permitted my Son Maximin to be made Emperor together with me, both out of the Affection which a Father owes to a Son, and also because the People of Rome and that Antient Senate may see, and swear, That they never had a more Beautiful Prince in their lives.*

His Coat of Mail was all of Gold, after the Example of the *Ptolemies of Egypt*. He had another all of Silver. His Shield was of Gold, enriched with Precious Stones, and his Javelin of Gold ; he had Swords of Silver, and others of Gold. He neglected nothing that could serve to assist his Beauty. His Helmets were set with Jewels and Embossed. As for what concerns his Pleasures and his Amours, with which *Elius Cordus* alperses him, I must refer the Reader, if he desires to know them, rather to that Author, than delay my prosecution of the Lives of the other Princes that follow, in obedience to the Commands which I have received.

The Omens of his Reign were these : A Serpent came and twined it self about his Head as he slept. A Vine which he Planted, produced at the end of the Year large Grapes, of the colour of Purple, and grew to a wonderful greatness. His Shield burnt by being exposed to the Sun. His Javelin was cleft

*His Advance-  
ment fore-  
shew'd.*

perfectly in two from the top to the bottom, by Lightning. Which the Soothsayers remark'd as an Omen, that there should arise Two Emperors upon the Throne of the same House and the same Names, but that they should not long Reign. When he was under his Master that taught him Grammar, a Lady his Relation presented him with a *Homer* in Purple, written in Characters of Gold. Being invited, when a little Youth, by the Emperor *Alexander Severus* to Supper, out of respect to his Father, and wanting the proper Vest to sit down in, that Prince furnish'd him with one of his own. As a Chariot of the Emperor *Antoninus Caracallus* passed the Streets empty, immediately he leapt into it, and sat himself down, and was with much ado, prevailed to come out again. *Caracallus* was told of it, and with a desire to have a care of such an Auspicious Boy. Nay, says *Caracallus*, He is a great way off of being my Successor: For at that time he was too inferior for that Matter, by his Quality, as well as his Years.

*Prefages  
of his  
Death.*

The Omens of his Death were these: As he and his Father were on their March against the Emperors *Maximus*, *Balbinus*, and *Gordianus*, a Woman met them with her Hair all disheveled, and in a mournful figure, crying *The Maximins, the Maximini, the Maximini*; as if she meant to say, Help; But she could speak no more, and dyed. The second days March at Night, above a dozen Dogs set up a most miserable Howling about his Tent, and in the morning were found dead. Five hundred

Wolves

Wolves together entered into the City of *Hennona* after him: that is, the same, which upon his arrival was deserted by all its People. But it would take me up too much time to relate all the things of this nature. He who is so over-curious to desire to know them, I would wish him only to read *Aelius Cordus*, who lets nothing escape him, even to a Fable. There are no Sepulchres of the *Maximins* extant. Their Bodies were thrown into a River, and their Heads burnt in the *Field of Mars*, with great Insults and Rejoycings of the People.

I am not however to omit an Observation of *Aelius Sabinus*. He says, The Younger *Maximin* had a Face so fine and so well made, that after his Head was cut off, as much as was macerated, blackened and besmeared with Gore, any one might see, that it was the Face of one, who had been an extraordinary beautiful Person: and therefore when the Head of the Father was carried about upon a Spear, and great Joy made to see it; people were almost as much on the contrary troubled, to see the Head of the Son served too. A Greek Historian *Dexippus* adds, that the Son, together with the Captain of the Guards, *Anolinus*, was killed in the sight of the Father. Others say, that after the Father had seen his Son killed before his eyes, he with his own Hand killed himself, to avoid the Treatment of his Enemies. However that is, we cannot forbear to remember the extraordinary Firmness of the City of *Aquileia* to the Interests of the Senate

*Womens  
Bravery.*

against the *Maximins*. They maintain'd the Siege with that Obsturacy, that when they wanted Strings for their Bows, they served themselves of the Womens Hair, to make Strings of: which had been sometime done before by the City of *Rome*. In Memory whereof, and to the Honour of the Ladies, the Senate there Dedicated a Temple to *Venus* with this Title, *Veneri Calve*; To Venus the Bald.

THE  
Life and Reign  
OF THE  
EMPEROR  
*Gordianus the First.*

BY  
Julius CAPITOLINUS.

Address'd to the

EMPEROR  
*Constantine the Great;*

There were Three Princes of the Name  
of *Gordianus*, according to the Ac-  
count of the best and faithfulest Hi-  
storians. The first of the Three, or *Gordianus*,  
the Elder, was the Son of *Mæcius Marullus*,  
of the Family of the *Gracchi*, and *Ulpia Gor-  
diana*, of the Family of the Emperor *Trajan*.  
D 3 His

*His Ex-  
traction.*

His Father, Grandfather, and Great Grand-father had been Consuls. His Wife's Father, and her Grandfather and Great Grand-father had been Consuls. Himself had been a Consul, and a very Rich and very Powerful one also. He lived in the House, which was formerly Pompey's the Great at Rome; and he had more Land belonging to him in the Provinces, than any one private Man besides. After his Consulship, in which the Emperor *Alexander Severus* was his Partner, he was made the Pro-consul of *Africa* by an Ordinance of the Senate.

*His Studies, and  
Munificence.*

Whilst he was a Youth he writ several Poems, now Extant: in which he offers to outdo at least the Attempts of *Cicero* in Poetry upon the same Subjects: And as *Virgil* writ *Aeneids*, *Statius* his *Achilleidos*, and *Homer* *Illiads*, so *Gordianus* wrote his *Antoniniados*; which is a Poem in Thirty Books, and very Elegant Verse, containing the Lives and Wars, the Publick and Private Actions of the Emperors *Antoninus the Pious*, and *Marcus Antoninus*. Afterwards, as he grew, he Declaimed in the Publick School upon Controversies, in the presence of the Emperors themselves. He was very Magnificent in his Quæstorship. The Year that he was Ædile, he Entertained the People of *Rome* at his own expence, Twelve times, with the Publick Shews: that is, once every Month: and sometimes he presented five hundred couple of Gladiators at a Shew, never less than one hundred and fifty. He had a hundred Wild Beasts of *Africa* Hunted in one day; another a thousand Bears: his sixth day

is very Memorable. There were two hundred stout Stags Hunted by *Britains*; thirty Wild Horses, a hundred Wild Sheep, ten Elk, a hundred Cyprian Bulls, three hundred Red *Barbary* Ostriches, thirty Wild Asses, one hundred and fifty Boars, two hundred Wild Goats, and two hundred Deer. All these he gave in One, which was his sixth day, to be Hunted, taken and divided amongst the People. There is a Painting of it yet to be seen, in the House where he lived, of the Great *Pompey*: which House was his, and his Father's, and his Grandfather's before him: but since confiscated in the time of the Emperor *Philip*.

In his Praetorship he acquitted himself Nobly. After which, he was Consul the first time in conjunction with the Emperor *Antoninus Caracallus*, the second time in conjunction with the Emperor *Alexander Severus*. He had two Children: a Son, who was a Consul, and afterwards his Colleague in the Empire, who was killed in the Battel in *Africa* near *Carthage*; and a Daughter, called *Mecia Faustina*, who married *Junius Balbus*, who was also a Consul. In his Consulships he was the most Famous of all of his time: insomuch that the Emperor *Caracallus* envied him, and admired sometimes his Robes, sometimes his Shews extreamly. He was the first Private Man of the *Romans*, that had a Consular Tunick and Gown Embroidered with Palm-leaves and other Devices in Gold, of his own: Because before, the Emperors themselves, when Consuls, received those Robes upon solemn

Occasions, either out of the Capitol where they were reposed from time to time, or out of the Wardrobe of the Court. He gave, by the Emperor's leave, ten *Sicilian Chariot-Horses*, and ten others bought out of *Cappadocia*, to be Run in the Cirque. So that he rendred himself dear to the Populace, who are always affected with these things. *Aelius Cordus* says, that in all the Cities of *Campania*, *Hetruria*, *Flaminia*, *Ombria*, and the *Picenum*, he diverted the People with the Sports of the Stage, and other Divertisements, upon his own Charges, for four days together. He writ in Prose the Praises of all the Princes before him of the Name of *Antoninus*; which Name he so loved, that when he entred his Son into the Publick Register, before the Keeper of the Exchequer, according to the *Roman Law*, it is certain, he called him, *Antoninus Gordianus*.

Made  
Proconsul  
of Africa.

After his Consulship he was chosen the Proconsul of *Africa*, with the consent of all, who wished well to the Honour of the Reign of *Alexander Severus*, in that Country. That Prince hath a Letter extant, in which he returns his Thanks to the Senate for making choice of so Deserving a Person for that Employment.

You could not do any thing, says he, Fathers of the Senate, which is more Grateful and more Pleasing to me, than your making Choice of Gordianus to be the Proconsul of Africa. A Man of Honour and Gallantry, Eloquent, Just, Continent, Good, and so he goes on.

This

This shews, how Great a Man he then was. When therefore he came into *Africa*, the People Loved him, as they never did any Proconsul before. Some called him a *Scipio*, some a *Cato*, some a *Mutius Scaevola*, a *Rutilius*, and a *C. Lælius*. One day particularly, says *Junius Cordus*, as he was Reading in publick to them an Order, from the Emperor his Master, which began with these words, *Since the Proconsulship of the two Scipio's*, the People took the Hint from thence to cry, *A New Scipio, a True Scipio, is the Proconsul Gordianus: All Happiness to Him*: And several such Acclamations as these, he heard frequently.

He was as to his Person, of a *Roman Height*, *His Person* with comely gray Hairs, and a stately Visage, *Son and Character* rather ruddy than fair, a good full Face, his Eyes, Mouth and Brow, carried a Majesty. He was pretty big in the Body. As to his Actions, he was so Moderate, that you can say nothing that he ever did passionately or immodestly, or to any manner of excess. He loved his Son and Grandson, his Daughter and his Grand-daughter, very entirely, and according to all the Rules of Duty: He deferred so much to his Wife's Father, *Annius Severus*, that, as if he was in the Quality of a begotten Son to him, he never presumed to Bath in the same Water with him, nor before he was a *Prætor*, to sit down in his presence. When he was *Consul*, he either dwelt with him always in his House, or if he was at his own, he went to wait upon him, Morning or Night daily. *He Drank little, and Eat less:*  
Was

was proper in his Cloaths : loved Bathing ; so that in Summer he Bathed four or five times a day, and twice in the Winter : he Slept very much. If he dined any time abroad with his Friends, he made no scruple to fall asleep upon the Couches ; which any body might see was natural to him, and not caused by any Ebriety or Luxury.

Yet did not this good Life procure him a happy End and Death. He who was in the conduct of himself so Venerable, and was always entertaining himself sweetly with *Plato, Aristotle, Tully, Virgil,* and the rest of the Antients, suffered an Exit that was very different from his deserts. As he remain'd the Proconsul of *Africa* in the time of the Cruel and Violent *Maximin*, after the decease of his first Master the Emperor *Alexander Severus*, the Senate sent his Son to him into that Province, in the Quality of a Lieutenant to assist him. Now there was a Receiver of *Maximin's*, who was Barbarous upon a great many of the People of the Country, beyond even what *Maximin* himself would have suffered. Some he Proscribed, others he put to death; enterprizing many things beyond his Commission, till at length the Proconsul and the Lieutenant took it upon them to reprove him. He nevertheless pursuing his Courses, and threatening with death Persons of the Nobility, and of Consular Dignity, and the *Africans* not being able to endure such unwonted and outragious Injuries, they first of all joyning some of the Soldiers to them, killed this Receiver. Then they

they began to think, what they should do next to secure the repose of the Country, and their own Lives, against the Party of Maximin. And it being the time that *Maximin* had rendered himself odious unto all the World, one *Mauricius*, a Captain of Note amongst the *Africans*, and a Gentleman of good Birth, assembled a Party of them together upon his own Grounds, near the City *Tbyssdrus*, and putting himself at the head of them, he Harangued them thus.

*Gentlemen and Fellow-Citizens,* said he.

*I thank the immortal Gods that they have given us this necessary occasion of providing for our selves against that furious Creature *Maximin*. For since we have killed his Receiver, who was just such another as himself, there is no safety for us, unless we set up a New Emperor. We have here a most Noble Person, who is our Proconsul, together with his Son, a Consul, his Lieutenant. They were both of them threatened with Death by that Villain of a Receiver. If therefore you will agree with me, we will Constitute them our Emperors, and Array them with the Purple, and the Ornaments of the Empire, according to the Laws of the Romans.*

The Audience answer'd, *It is Just: It is Just. The Gods save the Emperor Gordianus. We Welcome His Majesty to the Empire. Be You, Gordianus, our Emperor, and your Son Reign with you.*

Having done this, they went in haste to the Town of *Tbyssdrus*, where *Gordianus* was. They found

ISH H  
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PRINTED.

Speech of  
Mauricius  
to the A-  
fricans.

found the Venerable Old Gentleman repos'd upon the Bed, they told him the Resolution that had brought them thither, and presented him with the Purple. He threw himself up-on the ground, and refused it with all the earnestness in the World. They took him up from the ground ; and at last when there was no possible remedy for it, nor no other way to avoid the Peril, which was undoubtedly Great from the Party of *Maximin*, he suffered himself to be proclaimed Emperor.

*He is declar'd  
Emperor.*

Now he was of the Age of Eighty Years, and had been the Governour of many Provinces in his time ; and his Actions had ever recommended him so to the People of *Rome*, that he was lookt upon as one, that altogether deserved the Empire. After he was Declared, his Party cast down the Statues of *Maximin*, broke in pieces his Images, and by common consent erased his Name out of the Publick Monuments. But upon *Gordianus* they conferred the Title of *Gordianus Africanus* ; not only because he began his Reign in *Africa*, but upon the account of his Relation to the Family of the *Scipio's*. Some likewise surname both him and his Son *Antonini* ; others *Antonii*. However that is, after their Elevation at the Town of *Tbydrus*, they came from thence to *Carthage*, attended with all Princely Pomp. *Gordianus*, the Son, who before was the Lieutenant to his Father, was appointed to be the Prince, that should take the Field and be the General of the War. An Embassy was dispatched to the Senate at *Rome* with Letters,

to

to give an Account of all this: which Letters were very well received by the Senate, whose President at that time was *Valerian*, who was afterwards himself Emperor. Private Letters also were sent to their Friends, who were Men of Power and Quality, to invite them to approve the *African* Revolution, and to make themselves more their Friends by contributing their assistances to maintain it.

The Senate received the News of the setting up of two such Emperors against *Maximin* with so great satisfaction, that they not only approved of what was done, but made a choice of twenty Persons out of themselves, amongst whom to divide the Country of *Italy*, in order to defend it in the behalf of the *Gordiani*. Of which number was *Maximus* and *Baldinus*, who after the death of the same *Gordiani* in *Africa*, succeeded to the Empire by the Authority of the Senate. In the mean time, an Embassy from *Maximin* arrived at *Rome*, with the promises of an Abolition of what was pass'd to his prejudice. But the Embassy of the *Gordiani* prevailed above it; from which all the Good was to be expected, that any one could desire: It promised the Soldiers a great Bounty, and the People Lands and Largeesses: It was a great deal more credited, than that of *Maximin*: so that the Senate proceeded thereupon to cut off *Vitalianus*, who was the Captain of the Guards to *Maximin* at *Rome*. For *Vitalianus* was his Creature, and had already shewn himself of such another cruel Disposition as his Master, the further effects whereof they dreaded:

Which is  
approv'd  
by the Se-  
nate.

dreaded : and it is commonly said , That the Method taken to do this , was contrived for the greater privacy thus .

Vitalianus  
slain.

The Quæstor and some Soldiers with him , who were Bold Men , were sent to Vitalianus with Letters , pretended to be arrived for him from Maximin . The Letters were sealed , as it were with Maximin 's Signet . Having deliver'd them , they told him , that they had some things to speak to him in private . He took them from the Company , into a long Gallery : where , as his Eyes were upon the Letters in his Hand , and as he was expecting to hear what they had to say further , they killed him ; and then persuaded the rest of the Guards , that it was done by the Order of Maximin himself .

It is fit , that I should give you the Decree of the Senate for Constituting the two Gordiani Emperors , and the denouncing Maximin an Enemy . An Extraordinary Assembly of the Senate being called , the Consul attended with the Prætors , Ædiles and Tribunes of the People came to the House . The Governour of the City of Rome was not with them . He absented himself for Reasons he knew best : And as he was a Favourer of the Maximins , it was a kindness to the Cause of the Gordiani , that he did so . The Consul opened the Session with this Speech .

Fathers of the Senate ,

The two Gordiani , the Father and the Son ,  
who have both of them been Consuls , and the one  
goit

your Proconsul of Africa, the other your Lieutenant, are by a great Attempt of the Africans, declared Emperors there. Let us now therefore Thank the Town of Thysdrus, and return our Thanks to our Beloved People of Carthage, that they have thus delivered us from that Cruel Beast, that Savage Beast, Maximin. What are you afraid of, Gentlemen? What look you about for? What would you stagger at? This is the thing you have always wished for. Maximin is an Enemy. Let the Gods immediately take him off, and give us to know with joy, the Prudence and the Felicity of Gordianus the Father, and the Constancy and Virtue of the Son.

After this he read their Letters to them, which were sent to the Senate and to himself.

Then followed these Acclamations of the Senate.

We give Thanks unto you, O ye Gods. Perfect the Deliverance of us from our Enemies, which you have begun. We all adjudge Maximin an Enemy. We devote Maximin and his Son to the Region of Hell. We declare the Gordiani our Emperors. We acknowledge the Gordiani our Sovereigns. The Gods Preserve the Emperors who are elected out of the Senate. Let us enjoy our Noble Emperors as Conquerors. Let us have the Presence of our Emperors at Rome with us. Whoever kills the Publick Enemies, he shall receive a Reward.

Junius Gordus calls this a Tacit Decree of the Senate; but what that means, I must explain in

A Tacit  
Decree,  
what.

in short; for we have no Example amongst us of it at this day. Only, as when your Majesty calls your Chief Ministers into your Cabinet, to Consult about Matters that are not immediately to be made known to all the World, your Ministers are under their Oaths to speak nothing of them, till such time as the Busines is compleated; so when any Publick Necessity in Antient Times press'd the State, as for Instance, an imminent Danger from the Enemy, which obliged them either to take inferiour Measures perhaps, or, to make an Order which was no sooner to be known, than done, or that they would not have their Friends nor any body to know any thing of it, then the Senate assembled themselves in Private, and their Decree was Tacit: They had no Clerks, no Publick Servants, no Assessors present: the Senators did all, and executed the Offices of the Necessary Men themselves; that nothing that was done should be betrayed. And in this manner it was, that according to *Junius Cordus*, the Decree of the Senate against *Maximin* passed, to Conceal it so much the more from *Maximin*.

But, as there are some Men, who cannot keep a Secret for fear, as it were, that it should burst them, and who blush that what they know should not be discovered by themselves, and imagining that they shall be Men of no Consequence, unless they make it appear that they are intrusted with great Matters. *Maximin*, notwithstanding this Secrecy, soon came to the knowledge of what had passed, and had

had a Copy of this very Decree sent him, which was never known to be done before. Hereupon he writ a Letter to *Sabinus* the Governour of the City, offended at his absence from the Senate at the time when that Decree was carried; because as he was a Friend of his, he ought to have been there, to have opposed it. The Letter was this.

I Have read the late Secret Decree of those Senators of yours at Rome; which perhaps you, who are the Governour of the City, know nothing of; for neither was you present at it. I have sent a Copy of it to you, that you may consider what Measures to take, and how to Conduct your self.

The Emotion which *Maximin* was in when he received the News of the Revolt of *Africa*, and the Concurrence of the Senate to it, was such as cannot be expressed. He threw himself against the Wall, tore his Cloaths, drew his Sword as if he could kill all the World, and seem'd absolutely like a Man out of his Wits. His Statues and Images in the mean time, as he was a declared Enemy, were thrown down; and the Senate made all the use imaginable of the Power which they had taken into their hands. The Informers, Calumniators, Receivers, and all those Firebrands of the Party of *Maximin* they condemned to death. But this did not satisfie the People; who dragged them also through the Streets; and threw them into the Kennel. *Sabinus*

Extreme  
Passion of  
*Maximin.*

the Gouvernour of the City, who had been a Consul, was then knockt on the head, and left in the Street dead.

When *Maximin* had heard of these things, he came presently to his Army, and harangu'd them to this purpose.

*My sworn Fellow-Soldiers, you who are engaged in my Fortunes, and who endure all the Hazards of the War with me, whilſt we defend the Honour of the Roman Name in Germany, and with our Arms maintain the Country of Illyricum against the Barbarians, I am to acquaint you, that the Africans, who are false to a Proverb, are now Revolted. They have set up the two Gordiani, Emperors against me. One of them so Old, that he can scarce rise from his Chair: the other so weakned with his Debauchery, that he is as feeble, as if he was as Old as his Father. This is not all. That Worthy Senate at Rome hath approved of the Fact of the Africans; and those for whom, and for whose Children's Good after them, we carry our Arms, have appointed Twenty Persons of the Order of the Consuls, to make Head against us in Italy, and have declared us all Enemies. Now that which I say to you is, Let us play the Men and march forthwith to Rome, and let us Bravely and Courageously, as we always do, cut our way through them all.*

The Army was not so moved at this Speech, but *Maximin* perceived a slacknes in their March, and a Backwardness, which he did not relish. So he writ a Letter to his Son, who was a great way behind, to hasten to him with

with all speed, for fear the Soldiers should take the advantage of his Absence to set something on foot against him. The Letter was this, as it is in *Jurius Cordus*.

**T**HIS Express, who is one of my Guards, will tell you, the News that I have received both from Africa and Rome; and also, how my Army stands affected. Pray, make all the haste you can to me, for fear of any Attempt that should be made, as is usual: He whom I have sent, will acquaint you further.

Whilst these things passed, *Capelianus* in *Africa* took up Arms against the two *Gordiani*. Capelia-nus's Op-position  
in Africa He had always been an Enemy to the Father, before he was Emperor; and being the Gouvernour of *Mauritania* for *Maximin*, and an old Soldier, *Gordianus* after he was Emperor turn'd him out: which provoked him to raise a Body of the *Moors*, with whom he hastily directed his March towards *Carthage*, where all the People with a right Punick Infidelity, were ready to revolt to him from the *Gordiani* again. *Gordianus* the Father desired however to try the Fortune of a Battel. He sent his Son to fight *Capelianus*; and the Party of the *Maximins* that was with him. The Son was then of the Age of six and forty Years; younger than *Capelianus*, and not so experienced in the matter of War; because he had been more conversant in the Delights, ordinary to Persons of his Quality, than the Affairs of the Field. They Engag'd. *Capelianus*, as he was the Bolder

and the skilfuller Soldier won the day, and *Gordianus* was killed upon the place.

*The young  
Gordian  
slain, the  
Elder  
strangled  
himself.*

The number of the slain in this Battel on the side of *Gordianus* was so very great, that his Body after a long search which was made for it, could no where be distinguished amongst such a prodigious multitude. That which facilitated the Victory, was, a great Storm, which is seldom seen in *Africa*, arose before the Fight, and shattered the Forces of *Gordianus* so, that it in a manner disabled them. *Gordianus* the Father, hearing this, and considering that his Strength was now small, and *Maximin*'s great, and that *Capelianus* was at his Heels; That the *Carthaginians* were a People rarely true to their Trust, and there was no more safety for him in *Africa*; And being troubled to think, that he should fall alive into the hands of his Enemies, to avoid that, he took a Cord and strangled himself. This was the End of the two Co-Emperors of the Name of *Gordianus*. As the Senate had Recognized them both, so they afterwards Deified them. They Reigned one Year and six Months.

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THE  
Life and Reign  
OF THE  
EMPEROR  
*Gordianus the Second.*

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BY  
JULIUS CAPITOLINUS.

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**G**ORDIANUS the Second was the Son of the precedent *Gordianus* the Proconsul of *Africa*, and was set up Emperor by the *Africans*, and by the Senate of *Rome* at the same time, and in conjunction with his Father. He was one, whose Ingenuity and Carriage of himself, gave him as great a Reputation, as did the Honour of his Birth; by which he was related to the several Noble Families of the *Scipio's*, that of *Pompey* the Great, the *Antoninusses*, and the *Antonies*.

His Mother was *Fabia Orestilla*, a Great Grand-daughter of the Emperor *M. Aurelius Antoninus*; which was the reason that he was Registered in his Infancy by the Name of *Antoninus Gordianus*. But yet *Gordianus* was the Name which adhered to him, and which he was commonly called by. He was his Father's first Child.

*His Character, when young.* In his Studies he always followed the best and gravest Opinions. He was very Handsome, of an extraordinary Memory, and a kind and sweet Disposition; insomuch, that at School, when a Child, if he saw some of the Boys beaten, he could not forbear to cry for them. His Master was *Serenus Sammonicus*, who extreamly loved him, and bequeathed to him at his death a Library which consisted of Sixty two Thousand Books; being the whole Library of another *Serenus Sammonicus* the Father, who was put to death under the Emperor *Caracalla*: The fame of which Treasure of Learning extolled *Gordianus* to the Heavens, and gave him a great Name amongst the Ingenious. The Emperor *Heliogabalus* made him a Quæstor; to whom he was known, by being a young Man that loved Pleasure; but yet without Scandal, and without ever bearing part in the infamous Luxury of that Prince. *Alexander Severus* made him a Prætor, for the Affairs of the City of *Rome*: He discharged himself so well, and gained so great an Esteem, that he presently after was made a Consul, though his Father had come late to that Honour: After which, either in the time of the same *Alexander*

der Severus, or in that of Maximin, he was sent into Africa, as Lieutenant to his Father, the then Proconsul there; where what Fortune befel him, we have already recounted under the Life of his Father.

He loved Wine; but he always had it Infused, either with Roses, or Mastick, or Wormwood, or other things, that pleased his Palate. He eat very little. He had dined and supped, as it were in a moment. Women he passionately loved. It is said, he kept two and twenty Concubines; by all which, he had three or four Children a-piece. He was called the *Priamus* of his Age, for the multitude of his Issue. In Drollery, instead of *Priamus*, they many times called him a *Priapus*. He spent his time betwixt the Gardens, the Baths, and the delightful Groves. Nor did his Father Correct him; but often said, That he would one day die a Great Man. For as freely as he lived, he did not depart from that Vigor, which was natural to him; nor from the Virtues of Persons of Honour. He was always amongst the most Illustrious Company, and ready with the best of his Judgment to serve either the Publick, or his Friend. Therefore the Senate were very glad to Proclaim him Emperor together with his Father, and placed the Publick Hopes in him. He was just in his Dreſs, beloved by his Domesticks and all that belong'd to him. *Alius Cordus* says, that he never would consent to Marry. But on the contrary we are told by *Dexippus*, that *Gordianus* the Third was his Son, who afterwards,

whilst he was a Youth, was advanced to the Empire, in conjunction with *Maximus* and *Balbinus*.

When his Father some time consulted an Astrologer about the Nativity of him, it was answer'd, they say, That he would be both the Son and the Father of an Emperor, and an Emperor himself. *Gordianus* laughing at it as a Jest, the Astrologer shew'd him his Horoscope, and undertook to prove out of the Books of the Antient Masters of the Art of Astrology, that what he said was true. He told him the Day, the Manner, the Place of the Death of both the First and Second *Gordianus*; and justified himself with the greatest obstinacy: All which *Gordianus* the Elder reflecting upon, when he saw himself an Emperor, he even when there was no reason for him to be afraid of any thing, spoke very often both of his own and his Son's Death, and applied to his Son those Verses of *Virgil*,

*Ostendent terris bunc tantum, &c. i.e.  
This Man will only to the World be shown,*

lamenting his Condition, that he was not long to live.

We have several Discourses and also Verses of *Gordianus* the Second, extant, which at this day are often remembred amongst his Friends. They are not Great, nor yet Mean; but of a middle Character, and such as bespeak him to have been an Ingenious Man, of a Luxuriant Wit, and negligent of the Parts that Nature gave him. He

He was a great lover of Fruit and Herbs: In his other Diet he was very sparing: but he was always eating some New Fruit or other: A great lover of all Cold things: in the Summer he eat little else. He was Gross, and much inclined to be Fat, and therefore he the rather chose this Diet, to keep himself down.

This is what I have judged worthy to be remarked, concerning the Second *Gordianus*. For as for his domestick Pleasures, and other petty things of no Observation, which are with so little judgement recollected by *Janus Cordus*, let any Person who is desirous to know them, read him; who tells you, how many Coats and Cloaks every Prince had, what Courtiers, how many Servants; the knowledge whereof signifies nothing. Nor do I think, that it is the part of an Historian to trouble himself, but about things which it is either good to follow, or good to avoid..

I shall only add a Passage, which I find in *Vulcatius Terentianus*, who hath writ a History of his Time. He says, that *Gordianus* the First was the Reverse of *Augustus Cesar*; he spoke so like him, and he resembled him so much in his Face and Stature. That the Second *Gordianus* was very like *Pompey* the Great. But as to this, I know not what to say: Because it is denied, that *Pompey* was Fat or Gross: And he further lays, That *Gordianus* the Third, whose Statues we have now extant, resembled the *Afriatick Scipio*. This I thought was Remarkable and more for their Honour, than to be wholly pass'd in silence.

THE

*A. Christi  
Cccxxviii.*

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THE  
Life and Reign  
OF THE  
EMPEROR  
*Gordianus the Third.*

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BY  
JULIUS CAPITOLINUS.

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**A**fter the death of the two preceding *Gordiani*, as on the one hand the Senate whom that News had struck with a great Consternation, and put them very much in fear of *Maximin*, elected, out of the twenty Persons appointed for the defence of Italy, *Maximus* and *Clodius Balbinus* to be Emperors; so on the other, the People and the Guards made it their Request, that *Gordianus the Third*, a Youth of about Eleven, or some say, Thirteen, or as *Junius Cordus* says, Sixteen Years

Years of Age, might be created and declared the *Cæsar*, that is, the Person who should next succeed to the Empire; who therefore accordingly was brought to the Senate and invested with that Quality with the usual Solemnity. He was the Grandson of the Emperor *Gordianus* the First; but whether by a Daughter, as many say, or by his Son *Gordianus* the Second, who died with him in *Africa*, as *Dexippus* thinks, I cannot determine. His Mother Educated him.

*He is de-  
clar'd  
Emperor.*

*Maximus* and *Balbinus* Reigned two Years, and then were kill'd in a Mutiny of the Soldiers. The two *Maximins* were extinct before. So there remaining, without any Competitor, *Gordianus* the Third, who had for the two years last past, been honoured with the Quality of the *Cæsar*, the Soldiers, the People, Senate and all the Country, with great Joy and Alacrity, and with extraordinary demonstrations of their Affection, agreed to proclaim him Emperor: Loving him in Memory, and for the Merits of his Grandfather *Gordianus* the First, and of his Father, or otherwise his Uncle *Gordianus* the Second, who both of them took up Arms for the Senate and the People of *Rome* against *Maximin*, and lost their lives in their service by the Fortune of that War.

It was look'd upon as a Sign, That *Gordianus* the Third would not be a Prince of a long Reign; that such a great Eclipse of the Sun happen'd about that time; that the Day was turn'd into Night, and you could see to do nothing without Candles. He entertained the City

of

of Rome with Sports and Pastimes upon his coming to the Empire; not only the more to ingratiate himself with them, but to make them also forget the Heats and Divisions which they had had amongst themselves. Then an Insurrection commeng'd in *Africa*, headed by *Sabinianus*, in the Year when *Venustus* and *Sabinus* were the Consuls. *Gordianus* Armed the President of *Mauritania* against that Revolter: who besieged and reduced him to that extremity, that all his Party left him, and came and acknowledged their fault. After this, he commenced a War with *Persia*, the Emperor himself, which was his second Consulship, and *Pompeianus* being then Consuls. The young Emperor, before he went to that War, married the Daughter of *Mysitheus*; who as he was a Person of great Erudition and rare Eloquence, *Gordianus* thought him not unworthy to be admitted into his Alliance; and presently he made him his Captain of the Guards. This strengthen'd his Reign. Himself was for his Age very Sage and very Advis'd: but being also assist'd with the Counsels of so excellent a Father-in-Law, nothing was act'd by him that was puerile or despisable; nor was he made a Property of by the Eunuchs and Servants of the Court, which he was but too much subject to be before this Match, whilst he continued under the Regency of his Mother.

*His Father-in-Law.*

We have a Letter of his Father-in-Law written to him, and another from him written to his Father-in-Law, in which are contained great

great Marks of the Reformation of the Times  
by virtue of the Counsels of *Mystenus*. The  
Letters are these.

To my Lord and Emperor, my Son,  
*Mystenus* his Father-in-Law and  
Captain of the Guards.

IT is a Pleasure to me to observe the Alteration of the Times, since every thing was bought and sold by the Eunuchs, and such as pretended themselves to be Friends, but were really the greatest Enemies to your Majesty. I am glad that that Blot is removed from your Reign; Your Majesty is your self also very glad of it; which I am the more pleased to see, because it shewes, that howsoever badly Affairs have been before managed, the fault was not in you, my Son. Nor was it to your mind, that the Commands in the Army were disposed of through the favour of the Eunuchs; or that Persons were denied the Rewards due to their Services; or that they were either saved for Money and Affection, when they deserved to die, or put to death, when they deserved to live. It was not by your fault that the Treasury was exhausted; but all these things lie at the door of those who were continually Plotting and entraing into Cabals to deceive you; whereby they prevented the Access of Men of Virtue and Honesty to your Person, prepossessing you against such, and on the contrary, insinuating others into your favour, as vicious as themselves, through

through whose and their own Methods together, they made a Prey of you. The Gods be thanked that your Majesty is sensible of all this, and that you have taken it into your Consideration to Reform the State. I am happy in being the Father-in-Law of so good a Prince. A Prince who examines into, and who will know all things, and who hath banished from him those, by whom before he was made an Auction of, and sold to whosoever offered most.

The Emperor Gordianus, to Myfitheus,  
my Father, and my Captain of  
the Guards.

BUT that the Almighty Gods continue to Protect the Roman Empire, the Slaves, the Eunuchs, would ere this have even Ruined that and me. I now see very well, that Fælio was not a fit Person for the Command of the Guards, which I gave him; nor Serapammo, to be trusted with the Fourth Legion. I am sensible, not to reckon up all Particulars, that I have done many things otherwise than in Prudence I ought; and I thank the Gods, that through your Insinuation, who are entirely Just and True to me, I understand my Error, and that I know the things which have been before shut up from me. Maurus imposed upon me, and by a Confederacy with Gaudianus, Reverendus, and Montanus, as his Witnesses to confirms what he said in order to win upon my belief, be either commended or discommended

mended Persons to me as he pleased. My Father, I would desire you to search into the Truth of things. An Emperor is in a miserable Condition, that hath the Truth bid from him. For since he cannot walk abroad to examine what he would himself, of necessity he must take up with such as he bears, and what comes to him upon the Credit of others.

By these two Letters it is easie to see, that this young Prince was much amended and rectified in his Conduct, by the Advices of *Mysitheus*. The Gravity and the Uprightnes of that Man had such an influence upon him, that he made *Gordianus* Famous, who otherwise might have pass'd his time in great Obscurity, without any thing but his Quality to recommend him to Posterity.

An Earthquake happened in the Reign of this Emperor, so terrible, that whole Cities with their People were swallowed up in it. On which occasion, a great many Sacrifices were celebrated in all Parts of *Rome*, and generally all over the World. The Books, says *Aelius Cordus*, of the *Sibyls*, were consulted, and all the Ceremonies being performed that seemed to be prescribed therein, then this universal Calamity ceased.

After the Earthquake, and in the time of the Consulships of *Prætextatus* and *Atticus*, the Temple of *Janus* was opened (which was a sign of War Proclaim'd) and *Gordianus* marcht upon an Expedition against *Persia*. He took so great an Army with him, and such a quantity

quantity of Riches to support it, that he might easily assure the Victory to his side. He passed through the Province of *Mesia*, and so into *Tracie*, where he Conquer'd as he went ; and whosoever of the Barbarians disputed his Passage, he fought them, routed them, and drove them before him. He arrived in *Syria* and advanced to the City of *Antioch*, which was then in the hands of the Persians. Here he engaged the Enemy in several Battels, in which he had so much the better, that *Sapor* the King of *Persia*, was obliged to retire and leave him to possess himself of the Cities of *Antioch*, *Hieren*, and *Nisibin*, that had all been reduced before under the Empire of *Persia*.

*His great Success.*

Indeed the King of *Persia* was made sensible of the Power of the Emperor *Gordianus*, that though he was provided with great Forces to stand upon his defence, he voluntarily withdrew his Garrisons out of our Towns, and left them intire to their Inhabitants, without the least Plunder or diminishing any thing of their Fortunes. All which was much owing to the Conduct of *Mys ihens*. In fine, the Persians, who had made themselves redoubtable in *Italy*, retired within their own Kingdom from the Arms of *Gordianus*, and all the East submitted to the Obedience of the Empire of *Rome*. The Account sent by *Gordianus* himself to the Senate, of this Expedition, says thus :

*Fathers of the Senate, To add to the Victories which we obtained in our passage into the East, whereof each merits a Triumph, we have deliv-*

ed the Necks of the Antiochians from the Persian Yoke, and have removed from them the Kings and Laws of Persia. We have reconquer'd Herren, and its Dependences, to the Roman Empire; and are come up to Nisibis; and if the Gods favour us, we shall proceed further to Ctesiphon. I write to you in short; Praying for the good Health of Mysitheus, my Father and my Captain of the Guards, by whose Conduct and his good disposition of Things, as we have happily transacted this, so we hope to finish the rest also. It is for you to appoint Publick Sacrifices and Thanksgivings for the same, and to recommend us to the Gods, and return Thanks to Mysitheus.

When this was read in the Senate, they decreed to *Gordianus*, to represent him Triumphing after the *Persian Mode*, in Chariots drawn with four Elephants. To *Mysitheus* they appointed a Chariot with four Horses, a Triumphant Chariot, and this Inscription, *To the Highly Worthy Mysitheus, the Father of Princes, Captain of the Guards, and the Guardian of the Empire, the Senate and People of Rome return Thanks.* But this Felicity did not continue long: *Mysitheus* dying, whether of Sicknes, as some say, or whether he was taken off by the Arts of *Philip*, who was made the Captain of the Guards after him, as most others say, I know not; but he left the Publick his Heir, and all that he had was added to the Stock of the City of *Rome*. So advantageous had been the Ministry of this Great Man, that there was no Frontier Town of note, but what he  
Death of  
Mysitheus.

*His Care  
of the  
Publick.*

had furnished with stores of Provision, sufficient to entertain an Emperor and his Army: There was Vinegar, Corn, Bacon, Barley and Straw, laid up for a Year. Lesser Towns had Stores, some thirty, some for forty Days, and two Months. The least provided, were provided for fifteen days. As he was the Captain of the Guards, he continually examined the Arms of the Soldiers; he suffered no superannuated Man, nor no Boy to serve, whose respective Ages excused them: He made the Tour of all the Camps, and view'd their Trenches himself, and went the Rounds many times in the Night. All loved him, because he was so equal a Friend to both the Emperor and the Empire. The Tribunes and the Generals had such regard for him, that they never failed in their Duties before him, nor disputed his Orders. *Pbiliſ*, who succeeded him in his Place of Captain of the Guards, for some reasons, apprehended him very much: and this fear put him upon a contrivance to attempt his Life, which was thus: *Mysitbem* being ill of a Flux, the Physicians had ordered him a Dose to stop it: but by the means of *Pbiliſ*, that Dose was exchanged, and a contrary one given him, which encreased his Flux to that degree, that he died.

*Prefer-  
mer.t of  
Philip.*

After his Death, which happened under the Consulships of *Arrianus* and *Papus*, *Pbiliſ*, an Arabian born, was made the Captain of the Guards. A Man of mean Parentage, Proud, and not able to contain himself in so high and new a Fortune. He soon began to form designs

designs to prejudge the Army against the Emperor *Gordianus*. He brought them one time into places where there were no Provisions in the Granaries: Another time, the Vessels, which came charged with Corn for them by Water, were through his means diverted another way: This he did maliciously to disgust them against *Gordianus*: because there had been such vast Stores laid up by *Mysubear* for the use of the Army, that with good Conduct they knew they could not fail to be supplied; at the same time they did not suspect that *Gordianus* was so imposed upon by *Philip*: who to add yet to their Resentments, and to blow up the Fire, caused a Rumour to be spread, that *Gordianus*, being so very young, was not a Person of Ability sufficient to govern the Empire; and that it was much better that *Philip* should be in his place, who understood it; and how to Command an Army. He corrupted the *Principes*, who are a Body of the strongest and the stoutest Men amongst them, to his side; till at length, by his management he brought it about, that *Philip* was openly demanded to be made Emperor; which the Friends of *Gordianus* immediately opposed to the utmost: but when the Army was in a condition of starving for want of Provisions, the Empire was devolved upon *Philip*; and it was agreed, that he should Reign in conjunction with *Gordianus*, and should be as it were the Guardian of the young Prince.

*He is  
made Em-  
peror.*

*Philip*, thus possessed of the Empire, comported himself with so much Pride and Haughtiness

tineſ in all things towards *Gordianus*, that as *Gordianus* was a Prince who had come to the Throne with Honour, of a Noble Family, and of a Race of Princes, his Father and his Grand-father being both Emperors before him, so that he could not endure the intrufion of a Person of ſo ignoble an Original as *Pbilip*, he asſembled, in the preſence of *Mecius Gordianus* his Kinsman, who was the Captain of the Guards, the Officers and Soldiers of the Army together, and complained to them; how ungrateful *Pbilip* was for the Kindneſſes he had done him, and he hoped that it would be thought fit, to depoſe him from the Empire again. He ſpoke as much as he could, to that purpoſe; but after all, the Faction of *Pbilip* prevailed and carried it ſo againſt him, that they turned the Tables upon him, and depoſed *Gordianus* from the Empire. He ſeeing that his Credit was not ſo great as *Pbilip*'s, demanded that at leaſt the Power ſhould be equal betwixt them. This was denied. Then he offered to content himſelf with retaining the Quality of the *Cæſar*. This was alſo denied. Then he deſired, that they would not refuſe him the Office of the Captain of the Guards. But this was alſo denied. His laſt Prayer was his Life, and to ſerve *Pbilip* as a Commander in the Army. *Pbilip* had almoſt conſented to this; who ſaid nothing himſelf, but directed his Party in all things by Nods and private Signs. But when he conſidered with himſelf the Affection which the Senate and People of *Rome*, together with all *Africa* and *Syria*, and indeed all the Empire

pire had for *Gordianus*, as being of a Noble Family, and both the Son and Grandson of an Emperor, and one that had done great Services to the Empire in the Wars, he thought that it might one day happen, that the Army by some unforeseen Accident, might take a fancy to re-inthrone him again, because their present Animosity, which was upon the occasion of their want of Provisions, was but a Passion that might not last always; and therefore he ordered him to be carried out of sight (*Gordianus* crying as he went) and to be disrobed of the Purple and killed; which after a little hesitation was done accordingly, after he had reigned six Years.

Thus by Blood, and not by Right, did the Emperor *Philip* raise himself. In the mean time *Argentus*, King of *Scythia*, ravaged the Kingdoms adjoining to him, unto which he was encouraged, especially by the death of *Mysibius*, by whose Counsels the Empire had been so well governed before under *Gordianus*.

*Philip*, willing to conceal his accession to the Empire by Blood, sent Letters to *Rome* with a quite different Account; in which he said, that *Gordianus* was dead of a Sicknes, and that as for himself, all the Army had elected him Emperor. The Senate was easily to be deceiv'd in the Truth of things at that distance. They accepted and proclaim'd *Philip* Emperor, and repos'd the deceased *Gordianus* in the number of the Gods. He was a handsome, gay, amiable Youth, obliging to all, of an agreeable Life, and good Erudition; he wanted

*Character  
of Gordi-  
anus,*

nothing but Age for the Throne. The People and the Senate loved him, and so also did the Army, before the Faction of *Pbilip*, beyond any Prince that they had ever had yet. All the Soldiers and the Senate, says *Cordus*, called him their Son, and all the People called him their Darling. Nor did *Pbilip* after he had killed him, take away his Images, or throw down his Statues, or raze out his Name: He always gave him the Title of a God, amongst the very Party with whom he had confederated against him: He seriously honoured him; but not without mixing with his Worship, a great deal of foreign Craft and Dissimulation.

*His Buildings.*

The House of the *Gordiani* is standing at this day. It was very finely beautified by this last Prince. Their *Villa* or Country-Seat, is upon the Way that leads to *Palesbrina*, consisting of two hundred Pillars of four several Orders; fifty of the Marble of *Carysto* in the Island of *Negrepont*, fifty of the *Clauidian* Marble, fifty of that of the City *Synnada* in *Pbrygia*, and fifty of that of *Numidia*, all of the same measure: There are three Galleries three hundred foot long: The rest is suitable to the Work; and the Baths such, as no part of the World, except *Rome*, can parallel. The Senate decreed this extraordinary privilege to the Family of the *Gordiani*, that their Posterity, if they pleased, might for ever be exempted from Tute-lages, Embassies, and all other publick Duties. There are no Publick Buildings by this last Prince extant at *Rome*, besides some Fountains and Baths: The Baths he built not neither

for

for publick, but only private use. He had begun to build a Royal Structure in the *Field of Mars*, at the foot of the Mount, consisting of two Galleries of a thousand foot length each, and the distance of five hundred foot from one another; the Interspace on either side to be adorned with Greens, composed of Laurel, Myrtle, and Box; and in the middle a Terras of the length of the Galleries, sustainted with rows of small Pillars, and having over head another stately Gallery of five hundred foot. Besides this, he, with the direction of *Mysitbeus*, had designed to build a Summer Bath, which should bear his own Name; and also other Baths for the Winter, for the use of this Place, to render both the Greens, the Galleries, and the whole Work the more useful. But all these things have since been in the occupation of private Persons, and are now taken up in their Houses, Gardens, and Tenements.

There was at *Rome*, in the time of this Emperor, two and thirty Elephants, whereof two and twenty were of his own sending thither; the other ten were brought by the Emperor *Alexander Severus*. Besides these, there were ten Elks, ten Tygres, sixty tame Lions, thirty tame Leopards, ten Hyæna's, a thousand couple of Gladiators, who were maintained at the Charge of the Exchequer: One Sea-Horse, one Rhinoceros, ten White and Wild Lions, ten Camel-Panthers, twenty Wild Asses, forty Wild Horses, and an innumerable company of other Beasts of divers kinds; all which *Gordianus* had

F 4 prepared.

prepared to adorn his *Perſian* Triumph. But in this the Publick Wish had not its effect. For they were by *Philip* given to be hunted and killed at the Secular Games, and the Games of the Cirque; when, during the Consulship of himself and his Son, he Celebrated the Anniversary of the Foundation of the City of *Rome*, which was then arrived to its Thousandth Year.

That which is upon the Records concerning the Murderers of *Julius Cesar*, is obſerved by *Aelius Cordus* to have happened, now again, to the Murderers of the Emperor *Gordianus*. All those, who embrued their hands in his Blood, who (it is ſaid) were Nine, after the death of the two *Philips*, came to kill themſelves, with the ſame Swords with which they had ſtabbed him.

This was therefore the Life and End of the three Princes of the Name of *Gordianus*. The two firſt were killed in *Africa*; the third upon the Borders of *Perſia*: where, at the Castle of *Circeſſum*, which is upon the *Euphrates*, a Sepulchre was erected by the Sol‐diers for him, with this Inſcription, written in both the *Greek*, *Latin*, *Perſian*, *Hebreu*, and *Egyptian* Languages, that all the World might read and understand it; *To the Honour of the Emperor Gordianus, Conqueror of the Perſians, Conqueror of the Goths, Conqueror of the Sar‐matians, Repreſſer of the Tumults of the Ro‐mans, Conqueror of the Germans, but not the Conqueror of the Philips.* For the Philips killed him: *The Alans had ſometime also the better*

Inſcrip‐  
tion on his  
Tomb.

of

of him in a Fight in the Plains of Philippi in Macedonia. Licinius at the same time, that he set up for the Empire, it is said, defaced this Sepulchre; because he pretended to derive his Extraction from the Philip.

All which I have therefore been willing to observe, most Excellent Constantine, to the end that you should be unacquainted with nothing that might seem in any wise to be worthy of the knowledge of your Majesty.

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## THE

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THE  
Lives and Reigns  
OF THE  
EMPERORS  
*M A X I M U S*  
AND  
*B A L B I N U S.*

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By JULIUS CAPITOLINUS.

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AFTER the Death of *Gordianus* the First, and his Son *Gordianus* the Second in Africa, which happened in the time that *Maximin* was marching against Italy, in a great rage to revenge his own deposition from the Empire, and their elevation to it in his Place: the Senate full of fears of the Attempts and Fury of so Cruel an Enemy, assembled themselves

themselves in the Temple of Concord, upon the Seventh of the Calends of July, being the Anniversary of the Games in Honour of Apollo, to consider what course to take in order to their security against him. *Maximus* and *Balbinus* were then two Persons of the first Note in the Senate, who had been Consuls; whereof the one, that is, *Maximus*, excelled in Valour and in strictnes of Discipline; and the other, *Balbinus*, excelled as much in Goodness. These two coming into the Senate, and expressing in their very entrance their concern for the News of the Design of *Maximin*, the Consul, who was making a Report to the Senate of some things of another Nature, was Answer'd by the Senator of the First Voice thus:

*We trouble our selves bere about Matters of small Moment, and little better in comparison than Old Wives Stories, at a time that really challenges the biggest Consideration of the Senate. For what have we to do to Treat now upon the Repairing of Temples, and the Adorning a Basilica, of the Baths of Titus, and the Rebuilding the Amphitheatre, when Maximin is at our Heels, whom you with me have declared an Enemy. The two Gordiani, in whom our Security was, are dead; nor is there at this present any Remedy for us wherunto to recur. Come, Gentlemen, appoint who shall be our Emperors. What do you lose Time for? Lest whilst you perplex your selves every one with your Fears, you rather perish in those Fears, than by Valour and Bravery seek to effect our Deliverance.*

The

The Senate was in a profound silence, upon this, when *Maximus*, whose Age as well as his Merits, and his Valour and Severity of Discipline rendered him most Illustrious, offering to speak his Opinion the next; which was, that it was necessary, that there should be two Emperors appointed, who should Govern in conjunction with one another: *Vectius Sabinus* of the Family of the *Ulpis*, desired the leave of the Consul to be heard, which was granted, and he spoke thus:

*It is certain, Gentlemen, that in Changes that are so sudden as this, there is nothing like Resolving; and the Counsels, which offer themselves to our Thoughts, are rather to be immediately executed, than disputed. To what purpose are many Words, and fine Speeches, where Affairs are so urgent? Let every one have a care of his own Neck; and think upon his Wife and Children, and the Estate which he inherits from Ancestors. All which are under imminent danger from Maximin; whose Nature it is to be Furious, Truculent, Barbarous; but yet his Cause, which as he thinks, is so Just, will make him still much worse. He hath put himself at the Head of a good Body of Troops, and fix'd every where his Garrisons, and is marching towards Rome; and you in the mean time spend the day in fitting and Consulting. Without more Words, which there is no need of, a new Emperor is to be made. Nay, I would say, two new Emperors: one to look after the Civil Affairs, the other to be charged with those of the War. One to reside at Rome, the other to march with an Army against the Invaders. I my self will Name*

*the*

the Persons. Do you Confirm them, if you please: or if not, produce better. Maximus and Balbinus. The one so great a Soldier, that he has ennobled his Birth by the Splendor of his Valour; the other a Man of High Birth, the Lenity of whose Temper, and the Excellency of his Life, which from his Youth he hath bestowed always in Studies and Letters, is of the greatest Consequence to the State. You have my Opinion, Gentlemen, which is perhaps more dangerous to my self, than to you: But yet neither is it very safe to you, unless you make either some other, or these Persons, our Emperors.

The whole House unanimously answer'd, It is Just: It is Just: We all agree to the Opinion of Sabinus: Maximus and Balbinus, the Gods save your Majesties: The Gods have made you our Emperors: The Gods preserve you. Do you defend the Senate against the Robbers of the Party of Maximin. We commit the War against the Robbers to you. Let Maximin, the Publick Enemy, with his Son perish. Pursue the Publick Enemy. You are happy in the Judgment of the Senate: The State is happy in you to sit upon the Throne. What the Senate hath deferred to you, undertake with Courage: What the Senate hath given you, accept it freely.

So with these, and such other Acclamations, *Maximus and Balbinus* were constituted Emperors.

From the Senate they went first to the Capitol, and assisted at the Sacrifices there. Whilst they were at the Capitol, the Populace contradicted the Election of *Maximus*, because they feared

Maximus  
and Balbi-  
nus decla-  
red Empe-  
rors.

fear'd his Severity; and they desired, that the Infant *Gordianus*, Grandson of the Emperor *Gordianus* the First, of about thirteen Years of Age, should be made the *Cæsar*. From the Capitol, *Maximus* and *Balbinus* went to the *Roftra*, which is the Place to Harangue the People in upon the subject of their Election. As they had done this, the People there, together with some Soldiers who joined them, cried, *We all desire to have Gordianus Cæsar*. Nor would they permit the Emperors, who were attended with their Guards, to depart from thence, to go to the Palace, till this was granted: so that *Gordianus* was presently taken and carried into the Senate, and the Senate the same day, which was a new thing, that they had passed the Act in the favour of *Maximus* and *Balbinus* to be Emperors, Assembled a second time, and passed another Act in the favour of *Gordianus* to be the *Cæsar*.

*Gordianus  
declar'd.  
Cæsar.*

The first Motion, which the two Emperors after their Elevation made to the Senate, was, That the two *Gordiani*, who were dead in *Africa*, should be Deified. Some say, this Motion was made only for the Father, who had strangled himself. But as the Son died the honourabler death, by being killed in the Field, I choose rather to believe the Report of *Junius Cordus*, in whom I remember that I have read, that they were both Deified. After this, they conferred the Office of Governour of the City of *Rome* upon *Vettius Sabinus*: who was a Grave Person, suitable to the Temper of *Maximus*; and they made *Pinatius Valens* the Captain of the Guards,

*Before*

Before I speak more of their other Actions, I will give you some Account of their Manners and Families: which is done before me indeed by *Junius Cordus*, and by *Curius Fortunatianus*. The first suffers nothing to escape him: so that many times he takes in things that are Vile, and not Handsome. The latter hath gone through all this History; and hath amassed together several things which are not to be found elsewhere. But he is so short, that he only touches upon them. I shall not follow the Method of the one or the other; but rather that of the Histories of *Suetonius Tranquillus* and *Valerius Marcellinus*.

*Maximus's Father* was one out of the lowest Rank of the People; a Coach-maker, or as some say, a Blacksmith; whose Wife's Name was *Prima*, by whom he had four other Boys, and four Girls, that all of them died young. When *Maximus* was born, an Eagle, they say, dropt into the Chamber where he was, through some Passage, several pieces of raw Flesh: which no body daring to meddle with, or touch, out of a scruple of Religion, the Eagle came and took it away again, and carried it into the next Chappel, which was dedicated to *Jupiter Praestes*. This at that time seemed to be a thing of no consequence; but his coming afterwards to the Empire shew'd, that it was not done without a cause, and that it was an Omen of his Reign. He passed all his Infancy in the House of his Uncle *Pinarius*, his Father's Brother; whom he raised to the Dignity of the Captain of the Guards, as soon as he was made Emperor.

*Extracti-  
on of Max-  
imus.*

ror. He employed his time to the study of Grammar, but not much to Rhetorick; for his inclination was always to Arms and the severe discipline of War. At length he came to be a Tribune in the Army, and Commanded several Legions, and after that was made a Praetor. His Charges at his entrance into his Praetorship, were born by *Pescennia Marcellina*, who had adopted him, and maintain'd him as her own Son. Next, he was made the Proconsul of *Bithynia*; from *Bithynia* he was removed to *Greece*; and from thence, in the third place, to be the Proconsul of the Province of *Gallia Narbonensis*. He was sent, in the Quality of Lieutenant-General, into *Illyricum*, where he beat the *Sarmatae*: From thence he was commanded to the *Rhine*, where he managed things very happily against the *Germans*. Then he was made the Governour of the City of *Rome*, in which place he acquitted himself with a great deal of Prudence, Ingenuity and Exactness. Therefore the Senate, though he was one of a Novel Family, which without extraordinary Merits must have prevented their Favour, did not forbear to confer the Empire upon him; confessing, as did all the World, that at time there was no Person in the Senate more fit to sustain the Name and Dignity of a Prince, than he.

Person  
and Man-  
ners of  
Maximus.

As to his Person and his Manners, which are Circumstances, tho' of the lesser moment, into which People generally delight to enquire, he was one that Eat much, but Drank very little; and Venery he extraordinary rarely used.

Always

Always of a severe Carriage at home and abroad; a very grave Look, and a hard Face; so that they epitheted him *Maximus* the Trist. He was Tall, Strong, and Healthy in Body: one of no great Complaisance, but Just, and never guilty to the last of Inhumanity or Unmercifulnes towards any. He always forgave, when he was asked; nor was he ever Angry, but where it became him so to be. He ad-dicted himself to no Parties: he was stedfast in his own Judgment, and would never so much trust to the Sentiments of others, as to his own. The Senate loved him the better for all this, and the People feared him. Those latter knew the weight of his Censure, being a Subject; and they thought, that the same rigour would but increase upon him being a Prince.

*Balbinus* was a Man of a very Noble Race; *Character* had been twice Consul, and the Governour of *Balbi-nus*. a multitude of Provinces. He had been the Governor of *Asia*, and *Africa*, and *Bitynia*, and *Galatia*, and *Pontus*, and *Tbrace* and *Gallia*, and had headed sometimes Armies. But to say the truth, his Excellency lay not so much in the Military, as in the Civil Affairs. His Goodnes, his Integrity, and his Modesty, gained him a great deal of love. His Family was very Antient; and as he said, derived from *Balbus Cornelius Theophanes*; who was made Free of the City of *Rome* by *Pompey* the Great, and who was a Man of the first Note in his own Country, and also a writer of History. *Balbinus* was as Tall as *Maximus*, and Hand-some:

some : he loved his Pleasures extremely, in which he had a great Estate to assist him : for he was left Rich by his Ancestors ; and he had added to that Stock much, by being made the Heir to several of his Friends. He was famous for his Eloquence ; a very good Poet at a sudden and an *extempore* Verse. He loved Wine, Women, and good Eating ; was proper in his Dres, and in fine, wanted nothing to render him commendable to the People. The Senate no less loved him. This as to the general Characters of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*: whom some, as *Salust* compares *Cato* and *Cæsar*, so some think, ought to be compared in this manner. That as *Maximus* was severe, *Balbinus* was sweet : As the one was Firm and Constant, the other was Good. The one gave away nothing, the other abounded in all things, and was as generous to all the World with them.

*Maximus* and *Balbinus*, being possessed with all the other Royal Honours and Ensigns of the Empire ; that is, having received the Tribunitian Power, the Proconsular Power and the Sovereign Pontificate upon them ; the Title of *Fathers of the Country*, was likewise added to them. They entertain'd the People with the diversions of the Stage, the Games of the Cirque, and the Combats of the Gladiators ; and then *Maximus*, after the dispatching his Vows in the Capitol, was sent to the War against *Maximin* with a great Army ; the Guards continuing with *Balbinus* still at Rome. I may here take an occasion to say, in a word, from whence the Custom comes, That when

the Emperors are going to a War, they first entertain the People with the Combats of Gladiators, and the Chase of Beasts. Some will have it, That it is an antient sort of a Sacrifice to *Nemesis*, the Goddess of Fortune; to satiate her with *Roman* Blood in the beginning; that she may have the less thereof to require in the Engagements with the Enemy. But that which I take to be the truest, and the most probable Account of it, is; That the sight of Fights, Blood, Arms, and naked Men engaging each other, should harden them against they met the Enemy, and accustom them not to be afraid, nor to shrink at all at Death and Wounds.

The Guards carrying, as I said, at *Rome*, whilst *Maximus* went to the War against *Maximin*, there happened such a violent Sedition betwixt the People and them, that it came to a War, within the Bowels of the City. The greatest part whereof was set on fire, the Temples profaned, the Streets all of them polluted with Blood, and *Balbinus* with his utmost Lenity was not able to pacifie them: to do which he appeared in publick in Person. But he was in danger to be knock'd down with a Stone: some lay, that he received a blow with a Club; and he could never have quieted them, if he had not thought upon producing the young *Cæsar Gordianus*, whom he took, dres'd in his Purple, and set him upon the Shoulders of one that was very tall, and exposed him to them: who seeing him, both the People and the Soldiers were

*A Mutiny  
at Rome.*

so appeased, that for his sake they all returned again to their former Amity: For never was one of his Years, so much beloved as he; in Memory particularly of his Father, and his Grandfather, who had laid down their Lives in the defence of the People of *Rome*, against *Maximin* in *Africk*. A great Instance of the Gratitude of the Romans.

As *Maximus* set forwards for the War, the Senate dispatched into all parts of the Country of *Italy* Consuls, Prætors, Quæstors, Ædiles and Tribunes, to see, that every City was provided with Corn, Arms, Walls, and Fortifications, to give *Maximin* at every turn a Check, and to fatigue him with Sieges one after another. They ordered all the Provisions to be reaped, and to be brought out of the Fields into the fortified Towns, that the Publick Enemy should find nothing whereupon to subsist. They sent Orders into all the Provinces, to forbid all Persons to Assist him, under the penalty of being treated as Enemies. In the mean time another Mutiny happened at *Rome* betwixt the City and Guards. The Emperor *Balbinus* published his Edicts to suppress them, but without effect. The Guards betook themselves to their Camp. The People began to besiege them there. Nor was this Mutiny, in which Thieves and Robbers mixed with the rest, to steal and plunder what they could, to the ruin of the City, and the loss of a great deal of Riches, quieted, till the People had gone so far as to cut *Aquæducts* that carried the Water to the Camp.

Whilf

Whilst these things passed at *Rome*, the Emperor *Maximus* was at the City of *Ravenna*, making great preparations for the War against *Maximin*; whom he very much apprehended, and often laid, that he went to fight not against a Man, but against a Cyclops. But *Maximin* was so defeated of his Designs before the City of *Aquileia*, that his own Men killed him, and both the Heads of him and his Son were brought to *Ravenna* to *Maximus*, who sent them from thence to *Rome*. The Zeal of the People of *Aquileia* for the Cause of the *Romans* in this Siege was remarkable. They shaved off the Womens Hair in their necessity, to make Strings with it for their Bows. The Emperor *Balbinus* was so overjoy'd at the Victory, who had dreaded the very thoughts of *Maximin* before, that as soon as his Head was brought to *Rome*, he offered a Hecatomb to the Gods; which is a Sacrifice in this manner: A hundred Altars made of Turf, are set up all in a place. Upon these Altars are killed a hundred Swine, or a hundred Sheep. If it is an Imperial Sacrifice, the Victims are a hundred Lions, or a hundred Eagles, and such like. A Custom which many Emperors have Celebrated; and it formerly was in use amongst the *Grecians*, to appease the Gods, in time especially of a Pestilence.

*Offering  
of a Heca-  
tomb.*

This being over, *Balbinus* in the next place with great joy expected the return of his Brother-Emperor from *Ravenna*, with his Army and Forces entire, which had had no occasion to strike a blow. For the People of *Aquileia*,

G 3 and

and only a few Soldiers with them under the Command of *Crispinus* and *Menophilus*, who had been sent thither from the Senate, had prevented their Work, and defeated the Enemy without them. *Maximus* took his way from *Ravenna* first to *Aquileia*, to see that he left all the Country safe, as far as to the *Alps*; and if there were any Reliques of the *Barbarians* remaining, who had favoured *Maximin*, to reduce them. In the mean time the Senate deputed twenty of their Body (to wit, four of the Order of the *Consuls*, eight *Prætors* and eight *Quæstors*) whose Names are set down by *Cordus*, to Complement *Maximus*, and to present him with the Crowns, as also an *Act*, in which they had decreed to set up his Statues on Horseback in Gold. The Emperor *Balbinus* was disgusted at this, and said, that *Maximus* had been put to less trouble than he, who had extinguish'd the fire of a great intestine War at home, whilst *Maximus* enjoy'd himself in quiet at *Ravenna*. But tho' this was true, the readiness of *Maximus* to serve the State in Person in this War, was so well accepted, that the Victory received was totally imputed to him; and yet it was got, before he so much as knew any thing of it. The Army of *Maximin*, after his death, surrendering themselves to *Maximus*, he received them, and marched with great Pomp and a numerous Retinue to *Rome*. He often said to that Army, that as for what was past, it ought to be forgotten; and he presented them a great Donative; and sent their Auxiliaries every one home. But as when Soldiers have once their minds

minds possessed with a hatred, it is a hard matter to govern them. These Men repented that they had lost an Emperor, who was of their own Election, now to be reduced under the Command of those, who were of the Election of the Senate. They discover'd as much in their very Looks, and sometimes in Words. But when they also heard the reflecting Acclamations of the Senate upon them, for having adhered so to *Maximin*, they became the bitterer against *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, and every day bethought themselves of setting up some other Persons for the Empire, if occasion served.

As *Maximus* entered into the City of *Rome*, Reception of *Maximus* at *Rome*.  
*Balbinus*, the Senate, and the People came out to meet him, reflecting upon the Soldiers of the Party of *Maximin*, in their Publick Acclamations. From thence they conducted him into the Senate: where after some other things of course, it was said; See the Happiness of Princes, that are chosen by the Wisdom of the Senate; and on the other hand, see the Fate of those that are chosen by Fools: Now the Army were they that had first set up *Maximin*; as the Senate were they who had chosen *Maximus* and *Balbinus*. The Soldiers could not hear this without being more incensed against the Senate; especially because the Senate pretended, as it were, to have got a Triumph over them.

*Maximus* and *Balbinus* governed in the City of *Rome* with great Prudence, and to the equal satisfaction of the Senate and the People.

G 4   They

They deferred very much to the Senate; made excellent and Wise Laws; sat in Person in Judicature, and admirably ordered all the Military Affairs. *Maximus* prepared all things for a War against the *Partbians*; and *Balbinus* prepared himself for another against the *Germans*; designing to leave the young *Cæsar*, *Gordianus*, behind them at *Rome*. But the discontented Soldiers in the mean time, sought an opportunity to kill them, but had not yet found any, because they were so well guarded with a Body of *Germans*.

Jealousies  
between  
the Em-  
perors.

Some Differences there were betwixt *Maximus* and *Balbinus*; but they were secret, and such as were rather to be guessed, than seen: *Balbinus* look'd upon *Maximus*, as an Ignoble Man, of no Birth; and *Maximus* spurned at *Balbinus* again, as a weak Man of no Policy. This gave an occasion to the Soldiers, that had Wit, to understand, that it was easie to kill two such Princes, as could not agree betwixt themselves. Whilst therefore a great many both of the Guards and the Courtiers were diverting themselves at the Publick Games abroad, and the two Emperors were left alone in the Palace, with only some *Germans* near them, they Attacked them. The *Germans* were at a particular part of the Palace, waiting upon *Balbinus*. The Storm fell upon *Maximus*: who not finding any means to save himself without the succour of the *Germans*, sent to *Balbinus* to desire him to send him a Guard. *Balbinus* suspecting a Plot against himself, out of an ambition of *Maximus* to Reign Sole Mon-

arch,

narch, delayed to send him any so long, that whilst they stood in contradiction of one another upon that Subject, the Soldiers came upon them both, and stript them of their Royal Vestments, and drew them by violence out of the Palace, and abused them, and cut them, and were hurrying them through the City into the Camp, when perceiving that the Germans advanced to relieve them, they killed them both and left them dead in the Streets. At the same time they took the young Cæsar *Gordianus* with them into the Camp, whither they retired, and proclaimed him Emperor, as he was the only Person left at present to be so, Triumphing and Insulting over the Senate and the People. The Germans having nothing to do to Fight, after their Masters were killed, betook themselves to their own Quarter, which they had without the City.

*They are  
both slain.*

Thus died thole two good Emperors, in a manner unworthy of their Virtues and Actions; for nothing was more Brave than *Maximus*, and nothing more Sweet than *Balbinus*. One may be certain of this, from the Nature of the thing it self: For when the Election is in their own power, why should they make choice of ill Princes? They were Men, that had been exercised before in several employments of Honour and Power. The one had been twice Consul, the other the Governour of the City of *Rome*; and both were of an advanced Age when they came to the Empire, and were beloved by the Senate; and though the People at the first apprehended the Reign of *Maxi-*

*mws,*

*mas*, yet finding him more Gracious than they expected, even those had begun to lay aside their Fears, and to Love him also.

*Maximus* and *Balbinus* reigned one Year. *Maximin* and his Son reigned two, or as some say, three Years. The House of *Balbinus* is still to be seen at *Rome*, a large and stately Building, possessed by his Family to this day. There is a great disagreement amongst the Greek and Latin Historians about the Names of *Maximus* and *Pupienus*: which are indeed but two Names for the same Person: But yet the Greek Historians, as *Herodotus* and *Dexippus*, whom I have followed, never using the Name of *Pupienus*, and the Latin Historians scarce ever using the Name of *Maximus*; but what the one says was done by *Maximus*, the other saying it was done by *Pupienus*, and making *Pupienus* and *Balbinus* to be Emperors together instead of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*. To avoid this distraction, we are only to confide in the Account of *Curius Fortunatianus*, where he tells us, that as both the Names understand the same Person, he was called *Pupienus*, as by his own Name, and *Maximus*, as by the Name of his Father. The Letter of *Claudius Julianus*, the Consul at that time, in which he Congratulates the Elevation of him and *Balbinus* to the Empire, is directed to him by the Name of *Pupienus*: which is this.

To their most Sacred and most Invincible Majesties, Pupienus and Balbinus, from Claudius Julianus.

YOur Majesties by the good Appointment of the most Excellent and most Mighty Jupiter and the Immortal Gods, and by the Judgment of the Senate and the Consent of all Mankind, having received the Empire, to be by you protected against the Assaults of the wicked Maximin, and to be Governed according to the Laws of the Romans, though as yet your Majesties have not sent unto me your Advices, yet I could no sooner read the Act of the Senate for that purpose, which hath been transmitted to me by my Brother-Consul Celsus Ælianuſ, but I must Congratulate the City of Rome, for whose preservation you have been Elected: I Congratulate the Senate, to whom, according to the judgment which they had of your Merits, you have restored their Pristine Dignity: I Congratulate the Country of Italy, whose defence you in a particular manner undertake against the devastation of the Enemy: I Congratulate the Provinces, which the insatiable Avarice of ill Governours have rent and torn in pieces, they are raised to some hopes of safety, and do wait their deliverance from you. I Congratulate also the Legions themselves, and the Auxiliaries, who from all Parts of the World have their Eyes upon you to Adore you, and promise themselves from you a Reign, worthy of the

Roman

Roman Empire. There is therefore no Language so Powerful, there is no Eloquence so Happy, there is no where that Wit, that is so fruitful, as to express sufficiently the Felicity of the Publick in you: We may judge, what Great things we are to expect from you, by only the beginnings of your Reigns; in which you have re-established the Roman Laws, and the course of Justice, which was before abolished: You have made your selves Examples of Clemency, which had been also forgotten; and you have secured unto the Subject their Lives, Liberties, Customs, and Properties. These are things it is not easie to recount, much less is it to prosecute with that Dignity that they deserve. For how shall I express the sense of the Duties which we owe to you, for your having preserved our Lives to us against the Cut-throats, sent by the proud and bloody Maximin every where into the Provinces to revenge himself of the whole Order of the Senate? Especially, well may my Inferior Parts fall below the Dignity of such a Subject, when I cannot describe so much as the peculiar Joy of my own Mind, to see those two Persons raised to be the Emperors of Rome, and the Princes of the whole Race of Mankind, to whom and to whose Censures I have ever submitted my self, and have religiously endeavoured to approve my Carriage and Actions: And although I may take a great deal of confidence in the Testimonies which have been given of me, by the Princes the Predecessors to you, yet it is the Gravity of your Judgments which will carry the greatest Weight with me, and in which I shall choose to Glory. The Gods long con-

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time the Felicity of your Reigns to the Roman World. As Scipio, the Conqueror of Carthage (it is said) pray'd, That the Gods would preserve the State in the Condition in which it then was, because there could not be a better; so when I reflect upon you, and upon the Establishment which you have made of the Empire, which was tottering, till you came unto it, I can only pray, that the Gods would preserve the same to you, in that State, wherein your selves have placed it.

Under these two Princes there was a War betwixt the Carpi, and the People of Moesia: About the same time commenced the War of the Scythians, and the ruin of Istria. Dexippus gives great Commendations of Balbinus; he says, that he resifted the Soldiers, when he was killed, with a Couragious Mind, not fearing Death; and that he was one, who was well instructed in all things. But as to Maximus, he does not agree to the Characters which is given him by most other Grecian Historians.

A  
**S U P P L E M E N T**  
OF THE  
**E M P E R O R S**,  
FROM  
*Gordianus the Third,*  
UNTO  
*Valerian the First.*

**F**ROM the Death of *Gordianus the Third*, unto the beginning of the Reign of *Valerian*, it is accounted to be about Nine, or at the most Ten Years. In which short time, these Fifteen following Princes, of whom we have little left upon History, besides their Names, successively carried and lost the Empire of Rome.

*I. Marcus.*

I. *Marcus.* The Senate, upon the News of the Death of *Gordianus*, immediately exerted their own Right, and created *Marcus* Emperor, according to *Zonaras*. He was of their own Order, a Venerable Person, addicted to the study of Wisdom and Philosophy. But he soon fell sick, and died in the Palace at *Rome*.

II. *Severus Hostilianus.* After *Marcus*, the Senate by their Suffrages, according to *Zonaras* also, set up this Prince; who likewise had the fortune to fall sick soon after, and died.

III. *Marcus Julius Philip* the Father. This was the Person, who was the Author of the Murder of *Gordianus* the Third. He associated his Son with him in the Empire. His Wife was *Marcia Otacilia Severa*; who it is thought, was an occasion, being her self instructed in the Christian Religion, that her Husband was Favourable to the Christians.

IV. *Marcus Julius Philip* the Son. He was otherwise called, *Caius Julius Saturninus Philip-pus*. But after his Assumption to the Empire by his Father, he took the same Names with him. They reigned together five, some say six Years.

V. *Fotapianus.* This Person set up himself for the Empire in *Syria*, in the time of the *Philipps*. But was soon oppressed again, and ended his Pretences with his Life.

VI. *Marinus.*

**VI. Marinus.** Some call him *Publius Servilius Marinus*. He was set Emperor up by the Legions in Garrison in *Pannonia* or *Mæsia*, at the same time that *Farapian* made his Pretences in the East; and was killed soon after.

**VII. Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius** the Father. The Army in *Illyricum* advanced this Prince in opposition to the *Philips*. He engaged the Emperor *Philip* the Father in a Battle at the City of *Verona*, and slew him there. *Philip* the Son was killed at *Rome*.

**VIII. Decius** the Son. He was called *Quintus Herennius Etruscus Messius Decius*. He reigned in conjunction with his Father.

**IX. Caius Valens Hostilianus.** Some Medals and Antient Inscriptions mention him; and he is supposed to have set up himself against the *Decii*, as did the two following. But neither the Greek nor the Latin Historians are found to say any thing of him.

**X. Lucius Priscus.** He was the President of *Macedonia*, when he was set up to be Emperor against the *Decii*.

**XI. Valens Licinianus** This is the same, whom *Trebellius Pollio* makes the Nineteenth in his Catalogue and Account of the 30 Tyrants. He had much of the Love of the People.

**XII. Caius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus**, the Father.

**XIII. Vibius**

XIII. *Vibius Volusianus*, his Son. These two succeeded together to the Empire after the *Decii*; with whom some joyn a Third, namely,

XIV. *Hortilianus Perpenna*. He was preferred to the Empire by the Senate, in the time that *Gallus* and his Son were Created by the Army.

XV. *Caius Julius Aemilianus*. This Prince was Created by the Legions in *Mæcia*; and after the death of *Gallus* and his Son, who were killed by their own Soldiers, he reigned the space of three Months, and governed the Empire with a deal of Prudence. Then dying of a sicknes, he left it vacant to the Emperor *Valerian*.

In fine, the History of these Princes, and of the whole Interval from *Gordianus* the Third, to *Valerian*, is enveloped in so much Darkness, that certainly it is very difficult to find any one place, in which the Antient Writers are of any Agreement amongst themselves.

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THE  
EMPEROR  
*Valerian the First.*

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BY  
TREBELLIUS POLLIO.

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**V**ALERIAN was in the Province of *Rhaetia*, when the Army set him up to be Emperor, with the unanimous consent and approbation of the Senate and the People. He was a Man of an Honourable Birth, the Son of *Valerius*; and he was one, who in his time had passed through all the Gradual Offices and Honours of the State, with great applause, which paved the Way for him to the Throne.

*Respect of  
the Senate  
to him.* To let you see the Esteem, which the Publick had of his Merits, and how well he stood in the opinion of the most Noble Senate, at the time when he was chosen to be a Censor, I will give you the Act of the Senate, which passed for his Election.

Upon

Upon the sixth of the Kalends of November, the Year in which the two *Decii* were the Consuls, the Senate having received from those Princes Letters, in which they left it to the Senate's Power to appoint a Person to the Place of a Censor, met for the purpose in the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, and the Motion being made and the Question put, whom they should Choose, instead of waiting to be asked their Votes severally according to the Custom, they all cried with one Voice, in the absence of *Valerian*, who was then in the Field with the Emperors :

*The Life of Valerian is a continued Censorship. As his Manners are Better than all the World besides; so let him be the Judge of the Manners of all the World. Let him judge of the Crimes of the Senate, who hath none of his own: Let him give Judgment upon our Lives, who leads such a one himself, as nothing can be objected to it. Valerian hath been a Censor from his Infancy. Valerian hath all his Life been a Censor. He is a Prudent, & Modest, a Grave Senator; a Friend to the Good, an Enemy to Rebellion, an Enemy to all Vice and Wickedness. We all Accept him to be our Censor. We will all Observe him. A Man of the First Quality, Noble by Blood, of a Correct Life, and Singular Manners, Eminent in his Learning, and a perfect Model of Antiquity. This was often repeated, and then the Senate Adjourned.*

When the Emperor *Decius* had received this Act, which was sent to him from the Senate, he assembled all those of his Court, and amongst the rest, he order'd *Valerian* to be cal-

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led ; and after the Act of the Senate was read to the Company, he made the following Speech to Valerian.

*Speech of the Emperor which all the Senate bath of you, and in the share ror to him. that you bear in their Hearts, and Affections.* Receive the Office of being a Censor to the whole Roman World, unto which they have appointed you, and which you alone deserve to bear. By this you are made a Judge of our Manners. You will Judge, who ought to abide in the Senate. You will reduce the Equestrian Order unto its Antient State : You will prescribe Bounds to the Revenues of all. You will confirm the Tribute which is raised upon the People. You will take an Account of all Offices in the Government. You will have the Authority of making Laws, of Judging of the Orders of the Soldiers, and of having your Eyes upon the Conduct and the Employes of Arms. You will have the Power of carrying your Judgment to my own Court, and to the Governours of the Provinces, and the most Eminent Commanders in my Service. Excepting only the Governour of the City of Rome, the two Consuls for the Year, the Chief Officer of the Sacrifices, and the Mother of the Vestal Virgins, provided that she keep her self Uncorrupt, there is no Body, nor no Cause, but will fall under your Sentence. And even those who are excepted, will labour nevertheless to please you, and to be agreeable in your sight.

The Reply which Valerian made to the Emperor, was in this manner :

*May it please Your most Excellent Majesty, I beseech you, not to tie me to such a necessity of Judging*

Judging of the People, the Soldiers, the Senate, and all the World indeed, the Magistrates of the Provinces, the Tribunes, and the Generals. These are things, for which your Majesty possesses the Name of an Emperor; the Censorship revolves upon your self; a private Man cannot perform it. I beg therefore, that I may be excused from this Honour: Neither my Life, nor my Assurance makes me suitable for it: The Times also are so repugnant, that it is the Voice of Mankind, to desire not to see a Censorship of a private Person of this Nature.

However *Valerian* acquitted himself in his Censorship with all Equity. I could produce several other Instances of the Favour, both of the Senate and the Emperors towards him, if they were not things that are already generally known. From whence, I would only observe, that it appears, that when *Valerian* was afterwards called to the Empire, it was not done by a Tumultuary concourse of the People, nor by a Noise of the Soldiers, but he was chosen justly for his Merits, and as it were by the Unanimous Voice of Mankind: in which, if every Person in particular had been to be allowed the power of speaking his Opinion, they would all have made choice of no other than *Valerian*.

After *Valerian* was upon the Throne, no Man acted in the disposition of Commands and Offices, better, and more justly than he. His Son *Gallienus*, the Brother to *Valerian* the Second, by another Venter, was at the same time made *Cesar*, at the request of the People.

In fine, the fatal Overthrow of *Valerian* and his Captivity that followed it, makes me almost ashamed to extol him so highly, as he otherwise deserves. For this Prince marching with a great Force against *Perisia*, and invading that Kingdom, and being through the Conduct, whether Treacherous or Unfortunate, I know not, of one of his Officers, on whom he greatly relied, brought into such Circumstances, that no Force, nor no Military Discipline, could save him, was Conquer'd, and fell a Prisoner into the hands of *Sapores King of Perisia*; who swelled with the success of so glorious Victory, not only proudly detained him, contrary to the Honour of Arms, but treated him in the Language of a vile and abject Slave, and some say, condemned him to the infamous Office of making his Back a Footstool to him to tread upon, whenever he mounted his Horse. However that is, it is certain, that several of the Neighbouring Kings, who had assisted on the side of *Sapores* against *Valerian* in the War, sent Letters afterwards of kind Intercession to *Sapores* on behalf of the Royal Prisoner, whereof two or three were as follows:

To *Sapores the King of Kings,*  
*Belsotus sendeth Greeting.*

*IF I could think it possible, that the Romans were to be totally at last Vanquished, I should Congratulate you upon the Exalted manner, in which you use your Victory. But as they are a Nation*

Nation who by the power of Fate, and their own Virtue together, are of an extraordinary Force in the World, you will do well to have a care, that your taking into Captivity the Old Emperor, and that too by a Fraud, does not redound to the Ill of you and your Posterity. You may please to observe, what great Nations the Romans have, of Enemies, made their own; and Nations that have often had the advantage of beating them too. It is certain we have heard, how the Gauls beat them, and set fire to their great City. But yet the Gauls are now Slaves to the Romans. What! Have not the Africans Beat them? But yet the Africans now serve the Romans. And not to instance in Examples, which are of a great distance from us, and therefore the less known, Mithridates King of Pontus, was once the Master of all Asia. But yet Mithridates was Conquered, and Asia is now certainly under the Obedience of the Romans. If you will be advised by me, embrace the Means of Peace, which you have in your hands, and restore Valerian to his Country again. I Congratulate your Felicity, provided this altogether, that you know how to use it well.

Balerus, the King of the Cadusii,  
writ thus.

I Am glad, that the Succours with which we furnished you, are remitted to me again entire and safe, as I have received them: But I cannot wish you so much Joy of your carrying into

Captivity that Great Prince Valerian, as I should Congratulate you, if he was Restored again. The Romans are the most dangerous Enemies for being beaten; And therefore as it becomes you in Prudence; nor let Fortune puff you up, which hath deceived so many. Valerian hath a Son an Emperor, and a Grandson a Caesar. And what! Hath he not all the Roman World on his side, which will universally rise up against you? Therefore Restore him, and make a Peace with the Romans; which will also be an Advantage to us, as well as you.

Artabasdes, the King of Armenia, sent this Letter to Sappores.

I Share with you in the Glory of your Victory. But yet I fear, that you have not so much Conquer'd, as sown the Seeds of more and more Wars. The Son of Valerian, and his Grandson, and the Captains of the Romans, all Gallia, all Africa, all Spain, all Italy, all the Nations which are in Illyricum, and in the East and Pontus, that either are the Allies, or the Subjects of the Romans, will be sure to re-demand the Person of Valerian. So you have a Prisoner of one Old Man, and in the mean time you render all the Nations of the Earth implacable Enemies to you, and it may be to us, who sent you our Succours, as we are your Neighbours, and are always concerned in the Troubles of your State.

Other Nations of the Bactrians, the Georgians, the Albanians and the Tartars, rejected the

the Applications of *Sapores* to them, and writ to the *Roman* Generals to promise them their assistances, to deliver *Valerian* out of his Captivity. *Valerian* nevertheless remained and died a Prisoner in *Persia*, at an advanced Age. His Quarrel was pretty well reveng'd by *Odenatus* of *Palmyra*: who getting together an Army, asserted the *Roman* Interest greatly in those Parts; in so much that he took the Treasures of the King of *Persia*, and what those Kings hold dearer to them than their Treasures, he took his Concubines Prisoners. Upon which, King *Sapores* retired himself immediately within his own Kingdom, and so ended the *Persian War*.

This is the Story of *Valerian* the Father; who was 70 Years Old, when he was with great Applauses first advanced to be Emperor. I come next to *Valerian*, the Son.

## THE

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THE  
EMPEROR  
*Valerian the Second.*

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BY  
TREBELLIUS POLLIO.

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**V**ALERIAN the Second was the Son of the precedent Prince, and the Brother of *Gallienus* by another Mother. He was Handsome, Modest, and very Ingenious for his Age; of a Charming Humour and Manners; far different from the dissoluteness of his said Brother. His Father had made him a *Cæsar*, and *Celestinus* says, that his Brother did afterwards receive him, as Emperor, in conjunction with himself.

There is nothing to be remembred of him more, than that he was Nobly born, very well educated, and that he was miserably killed. He was buried about the City of *Milan*, with this

this Inscription put upon him afterwards, by the order of *Claudius*; *The Emperor Valerian*. Some have understood it of *Valerian* the Father; as if the Body of him, who was a Prisoner in *Persia*, had been returned out of that Country: But that is a mistake, and therefore to prevent it for the future, I mention it as such here.

I pass on next to the Reign of *Gallienus* and his Son, called *Saloninus Gallienus*; being entirely devoted to your Service, and to the glory of your Reputation, to which I neither ought nor can refuse any thing.

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THE  
Life and Reign  
OF THE  
EMPEROR  
*Gallienus the First.*

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BY  
TREBELLIUS POLLIO.

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**F**Rom whence should I begin the Life of *Gallienus*, but from the time of the Captivity of his Father? Who, that is, *Valerian* the First, being taken and kept a Prisoner by the King of *Perſia*, though it was a great Affliction to all to see an Emperor of *Rome* treated so like a Slave, the Army in the mean time without a Head, the Generals murmuring, and the Empire in a tottering condition, especially in the East, yet did *Gallienus*

lienus rather rejoice in the Misfortune of his Father, and carried himself so negligently, that *Macrianus* and *Balista*, together with the Reliques of the Army which they assembled with them in the East, consulted in fine, whom to set up to be Emperor in opposition to him. For as for him, his Name was scarce so much as mentioned amongst them.

*Macrianus* was accounted one of the most knowing Captains of that time, and no Man fitter for the Government of Affairs than he. Withal he was very Rich, and one that could supply the publick Occasions out of his private Fortunes. His Sons, *Macrianus* the Second and *Quintus*, were two stout young Men, who loved the War, and might be of good Example to the Legions, upon all opportunities, where the matter of Arms might call them.

Wherefore it was resolved, in preference to others, to commit the defence of the Empire unto *Macrianus* and his Sons. This was <sup>Several Persons</sup> set up for in the Year, that *Gallienus* and *Volusianus* were <sup>Emperors</sup> the Consuls. *Macrianus* gathered himself an Army, and took all the necessary precautions for his security against his Enemies. He sent *Piso*, who was one of the chief Persons of the Senate, into *Acbia*, to opprels *Valens* there, who governed that Country with a Proconsular Power by the appointment of *Gallienus*. But *Valens* finding that *Piso* came against him, and that there was no other way to save himself, but by an Absolute Authority, and by setting up himself Emperor, he did so, and *Piso* withdrew from thence into *Thessalia*; whither

whither *Valens* sent those after him that killed him. In the mean time *Piso* had also in *Tessaly* set up for an Empire, with the Title of *Emperor of Thessalia*. After this, *Macrianus* leaving his Son *Quietus* in the East, and the Affairs under him there in a peaceable Condition, began his Expedition against *Gallienus*. He came first into the Lesser *Asia*, and then into *Illyricum*. In *Illyricum* was *Aureolus*, who pretended to Reign there; being one that had taken Arms, and the Empire upon him, against *Gallienus*. *Macrianus* had his Son *Macrianus* with him, and a Body of five and forty thousand Men. With these he fought the Forces of *Aureolus*, which were Commanded by his General *Domitian*: but *Macrianus* lost the day, and both he and his Son were killed, and all their Army surrendered to the Emperor *Aureolus*.

Odenatus  
attempts  
the Em-  
pire.

The News of the death of *Macrianus*, the Father and Son, coming to *Odenatus* of *Palmyra* in *Syria*, who had made his pretensions to the Empire of the East from the Captivity of *Valerian*, *Odenatus* considering the Remissness of *Gallienus* on the one hand, and the Usurpation of *Aureolus* on the other, and indeed the disturbed Condition of the whole Empire every where, hastned upon this opportunity with an Army, to see if he could take the other Son of *Macrianus*, *Quietus*, who had been left behind in the East. This Business was soon concluded by the Treachery of such, as were about the Person of *Quietus*: For they, Confederating with *Odenatus*, and particularly

particularly *Balista*, the Captain of the Guards, killed the young Man and threw his Body over the Wall to *Odenatus*; to whom every one, after that, immediately submitting, *Odenatus* became the Emperor of almost all the East, whilst *Aureolus* reigned in *Illyricum*, and *Gallienus* reigned at *Rome*. The City of *Emissa* was nigh destroyed by the severity of *Balista* at this time, and many of the Inhabitants killed, with the Treasurer and such others of the Party of *Quietus*, as had fled for shelter thither.

*Odenatus* ordered an Account of every thing that had passed, to be faithfully sent to the Emperor *Gallienus* at *Rome*; as if it was in his Cause, that he had done what he did. *Gallienus* was pleased with the security, which accrued to him by the death of *Macriannus*, and his Sons: But the use that he made of it, was only to indulge his Lusts and Pleasures the *Dissolute-ness of Gallienus.* more, which he pursued without the least regard to the Condition of his Captive Father. He gave the Publick the diversions of the Races of the Cirque, Stage-plays, the Games of Leaping, Running and Wrestling; a Chase of Wild Beasts, and the Games of the Gladiators; whereunto he invited the People to assist and be Merry, as upon Days of the greatest Joy and Triumph. However, several could not but lament the Captivity of his Father: but *Gallienus* gloried rather in it; because his Father (he said) had lost his Crown by I know not what loss of Virtue, which he renounced; and so he solaced himself above measure. It was plain, that he could not endure the Eye of his Father

Father upon him; and he thought himself happy, that the Old Man with his Gravity was so far off removed.

About the same time, *Emilian* in *Egypt* Revolted, and set up for himself as Emperor, and seized upon the Granaries and the Magazines of that Country, till several Towns there were almost laid under a Famine. Against him *Theodorus*, a General of *Gallienus*, marched, and fought him and took him, and sent him alive to the Emperor his Master.

*Gallienus* still persisting in his Sports and his Luxury, and no better looking after the Publick Weal, than a Boy that is made a King in a Play of a Company of Boys. The Gauls, to whom it is Natural to be Light, and a People that cannot contain themselves under Princes, which are luxurious and which degenerate from that *Roman* Valour, which did at first subject them, called *Posthumius* to the Empire; whereunto the Forces of that Province consented, who were very sensible, and accordingly complained of the slavery of *Gallienus* to his Lusts. Against *Posthumius*, marched *Gallienus* himself with a Body of Troops. He besieged *Posthumius* in the City where he was: But as he was viewing the Walls, the Gauls distinguish'd him, and gave him a Wound by the shot of an Arrow. *Posthumius* reigned seven Years in *Gallia*, and asserted that Country bravely against the Incursions of all the *Barbarians* round about. The War betwixt *Gallienus* and him was long protracted, through a number of Sieges and Battels: Sometimes

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the one, sometimes the other carried it: insomuch that *Gallienus* was obliged by the difficulties which beset him, to make a Peace with the pretended Emperor *Aureolus*, for the better opportunity of opposing *Posthumus*. To these Mischiefs, the *Scythians* invaded the Province of *Bithynia* in the Lesser *Asia*, and destroyed whole Towns there. They came up to the City of *Nicomedia*, and burnt it and grievously laid it waste. Besides which, as if all the World conspired at once to afflict us, in *Sicily* there arose as it were a servile War, by the means of a company of Robbers, that roved up and down, and required a great deal of pains to suppress them. All these things happened out of a Contempt of *Gallienus*: because there is nothing which gives so much Boldness to the Wicked, nor so much Hopes and Encouragement to the Good, as when either on the one hand a Good Prince is feared, or on the other a Dissolute Prince is despised.

Amongst so many Commotions and Wars, an Earthquake in the Year when *Gallienus* and *Fauzinianus* were the Consuls, in a violent manner shook the Cities of *Asia*; it shook *Libya*, and the City of *Rome*, and there was a Darkness for several days. The roaring of the Earth from beneath, was like the Voice of Thunder from above. Many Fabricks were consumed in this Earthquake, and their Inhabitants with them, and others killed with the fright. The Earth opened in abundance of places, and salt Water came up into the Breaches, and several Cities were covered with

Many  
Commoti-  
tions and  
Wars.

A dread-  
ful Earth-  
quake.

a Flood of Waters: Above all, it did the most mischief in *Asia*. At the same time so great a Pestilence raged at *Rome*, and in the Cities of *Achaia*, that five thousand Persons died of it in one day. So the Books of the *Sibyls* were Inspected, and the Peace of the Gods begged and sought into, and a Sacrifice was offered to *Jupiter*, the Author of Health, according as it was prescribed by the said Books of the *Sibyls*. Fortune raged on all sides. Here the Earth

*The many Misfortunes of the Times.* shook and trembled; there it gaped and opened; in other Parts a Pestilence laid us waste; *Valerian* in the mean time a Captive, *Gallia* distract-ed with the Wars of *Posthumus*, and the *Barbarians*; the East under the Empire of *Odenatus*, *Aureolus* the Master of *Illyricum*, and *Emilian* the Master of *Egypt*; *Itrace* taken up betwixt the *Gotbs* and *Claudius*, who laid waste *Macedonia* and besieged *Theffalonica*: No moderate degree of quiet had we on any side. And all this in a great measure, as I have said, was yet occasioned by the Contempt, in which *Gallienus* was with all the World: which he drew upon himself by his excessive Luxury; and not only that, but he was a Man, who besides, if he was out of Danger, was fit enough for all kind of Wickedness. In *Achaia*, *Marzianus*, with the Forces of *Gallienus*, Engaged the *Gotbs*, and obliged them to retire. The *Scybtians*, who are another part of the *Gotbs*, at the same time laid waste *Asia*, and plundered and burnt the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, the Fame of the Riches whereof is so well known to all the Earth.

It is a shame almost to say, what Expressions, what Jests, came upon these occasions from the mouth of *Gallienus*, when he was told of the Revolt and Troubles of this and the other Place. *Egypt*, it was told him, was Revolted: And what then, says he, cannot we be without the Flax of *Egypt*? *Asia*, it was told him, was laid waste, both by the Earthquakes, and the *Syrian* Enemy. What then, says he, cannot we be without Salt-petre? When *Gallienus* was lost to *Postumus*, he laughed and said; Cannot the State be safe, unless we have our Stuffs from *Atrai*? And so of all Parts of the World, when he had lost them, he Jested, and was no more concerned, than for his old Cloaths, or the loss of any vile Slave.

And that nothing which is ill, should be wanting to his Times, the City of *Byzantium*, which is the Key of the *Hellespont*, and famous for its Naval Powers, was rendered totally desolate by the Soldiers of the same *Gallienus*, that scarce any body was left alive in it. There is no Antient Family to be found now there, to represent the Nobility and the Antiquity of its former People, but what perhaps hath sprung from some Person or other, who escaped the slaughter, by being at that time absent on his busines, or in the service of the War.

After the Peace with *Aureolas*, *Gallienus*, with the assistance of him and *Claudius* as his General, who was afterwards Emperor, and who is the Head of the Family of *Constantius* the *Cesar*, began the War afresh against *Postumus*.

*Posthumius in Gallia.* Posthumius was assisted with many succours from the *Celtæ* and the *Franks*; and being joined by *Victorinus*, whom he had made Partner with him in his pretended Empire, he marched to the Battel against *Gallienus*. They fought several times with variety of success on both sides. The Victory at last fell to *Gallienus*; who, it is to be owned, had sudden Valour, which came hot upon him, when he was in a Choler and well provoked.

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minus de-  
feated.

In this Choler he went next to revenge himself of *Byzantium*; where he did not expect to be received within the Walls. But upon Conditions, he was. The day after, he first disarmed, and then put all the Garrison and Town in cold blood to the Sword, contrary to his Faith and the Promises that he had made them. About the same time the *Scythians* in *Asia* were beaten by the Valour and the Conduct of the *Roman* Commanders there, and obliged to retire from their Incursions.

Gallienus  
his return  
to Rome.

Winged with these Successes, *Gallienus* flew with great speed to *Rome*; and Convocating the Senate, he Instituted and Celebrated his *Decennial Games*, the Pomp and the Pleasures whereof, were as Exquisite as they were New. He went to the Capitol, in a Procession of the Senators in their Robes, the Gentry, the Soldiers clad in White, all the People, Slaves a very great many, and Women marching before with Wax Tapers and Lamps in their hands. These were preceded by a hundred white Oxen, yoked two and two, with their Horns gilt, and Cloths of Silk thrown over their

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their Backs of divers Colours, which made a great Show. In like manner, marched two hundred pure white Lambs: Ten Elephants, that were then at *Rome*: One thousand two hundred Gladiators, pompously dressed in Cloaths embroider'd with Gold, such as the Ladies of Quality wear: Two hundred tam'd Wild Beasts of several kinds, very finely adorned; Chariots full of Mimicks, and all sorts of Players; Pugils fighting, but not with true, but counterfeit Weapons; Drolls playing the Anticks, and others imitating the Gestures and Looks of the *Cyclops*, which was wonderful. All the Streets resounded with Acclamations, and the Plays, and the Noise. In the midst, amongst the Senators, marched *Gallienus* himself in a Triumphal Gown and Tunick, accompanied with all the Priests in their Robes. There were five hundred Spears of Gold born on each side, one hundred Standards, the Standards of the Colleges of the Priests, the Arms and Ensigns of the Temples, and all the Legions. Then went also separate Bodies of Men, representing Captives of Vanquish'd Nations: as *Gotbs*, *Sarmatians*, *Franks* and *Persians*; to the number of no less than two hundred in a Body. And with this Pomp did *Gallienus* vainly think to elude and put upon the People of *Rome*; who nevertheless seeing through the disguise, one Man favoured *Postbumius*, another *Regilianus*, another *Aureolus*, another *Æmilian*, and another *Saturninus*, as they fancied. Great lamentation was made for the Captivity of

*Valerian*, the Father ; and it was admired, that his own Son should leave him so unrevenged, when strangers and foreign Potentates had been ready to vindicate him. But nothing of this moved *Gallienus*, his heart was stupified with his Pleasures. All his discourse to those that were about him, was, What have we for Dinner ? What are the Diversions that are prepared to day ? What will be the Play to morrow ? What are the Races to be run in the Cirque ? The Procession being over, and the Hecatombs being offered to the Gods, *Gallienus* returned to the Court, where there was an Entertainment : which when finished, he appointed the other days for the publick Pastimes. One thing I must not omit, and that is an unlucky Jest, which was made upon the Procession. Amongst the pretended Captives, which were ridiculously led in Triumph, there was a Body of supposed *Persians*. As this Body was marching, some Drolls, that had a mind to be pleasant, came in amongst them and fought, and look'd all about, and viewed every ones Face, and wondred, and were very inquisitive ; till at last they were asked, what they would have ? and what was it they wanted ? Say they, we would see the Emperor's Father. This coming to the ears of *Gallienus*, no regard either to his Father, or to Pity, or his own shame could prevail with him, but he ordered the Men to be burnt. The People resented their deaths, beyond expectation, very ill ; and the Soldiers worse : who were so troubled, that they reveng'd it upon *Gallienus* himself, not long after.

In

In the Year that *Gallienus* and *Saturninus* were the Consuls, *Odenatus* King of the *Palmyreni* in *Syria*, whose Valiant Actions spoke him worthy to be the Emperor of all the East, as indeed he was, and so he declared himself, because *Gallienus* minded either nothing, or only his Luxuries and his Follies, took up the War against *Persia*, to revenge the Captivity of *Valerian*, which was so little regarded by *Gallienus* his Son. He presently possessed himself of the Cities of *Nisibis* and *Charræ*, by the Surrender of the Inhabitants, who blamed *Gallienus* for his Neglect. Yet was not *Odenatus* wanting in his Respect to *Gallienus* neither. He sent the Great Men of the *Perians*, whom he took Prisoners, to *Rome* to him, to give him the opportunity of insulting over their Misery in their turn: which he did in a Triumph, though the Victory was not his own, but *Odenatus's*; and still he mentioned nothing of his Father; nor upon the report which came of his Death, but, which proved afterwards false, did he Deifie him, till he was constrained to it. *Odenatus* advanced to the City of *Ctesiphon*, and besieged it, with a multitude of the *Perians* therein. He laid all the Country about waste, and killed innumerable of the Enemy. All the Great Men of the *Perians* out of all the Provinces flew to this Siege, for the common defence. They Fought. Fortune was a long time various, and the Victory hard in getting. But however it fell at last on the side of *Odenatus*; who as he had no other end in the War, but to deliver *Valerian*, so he daily pushed for

it,

it, but the Circumstances of Places in a strange Country, incumbered the good Prince with great difficulties.

Whilst these things passed in *Persia*, the *Syrians* broke in into *Cappadocia*, which they Ravaged: and having made themselves Masters of some Towns, after the War was a long time doubtful, they withdrew from thence into *Bithynia*. Therefore the Soldiers were at this time for choosing another Person Emperor: whom when *Gallienus* could not pacifie in his favour, he killed them all, which was his way, as he did at *Byzantium*.

As ill as his Affairs on all sides stood, *Gallienus* prosecuted his Vanities. He desired to be made a Citizen and President of *Athens*, and to be admitted to all the Religious Rites of that place, and to be made one of the number of the *Areopagites*. This was a Contempt upon the People of *Rome*, and the Honours which he enjoy'd from thence; as if he valued it more to be an *Areopagite* and the *Archon* of *Athens*, than to be the *Roman* Emperor. It is true, that both *Hadrian* and *Marcus Antoninus* had the curiosity to be initiated in the *Eleusinian* Rites. But the Emperor *Hadrian* was, when he did it, in the height of his prosperity; and the Emperor *Antoninus* did not affect it, till after a firm Peace; and both of them were so well seen in the Greek Learning, that seldom were the learnedest Doctors there, superior to them, in the judgment of the Great Men. It cannot be denied indeed, but *Gallienus* was eminent in Oratory, Poetry, and all the Arts.

He

*His Skill  
in the  
Arts.*

He made an Epithalamium upon the Marriage of his Brother's Sons, *extempore*, which was better than a hundred others, made at the same time by all the Greek and Latin Poets, though they studied several days upon it, and every one did his best to excel. The Epithalamium of *Gallienus* was these three Lines. Taking them by the Hands,

*Ite, ite, O pueri; pariter sudate Medullis  
Omnibus inter vos: Non murmura vestra Columbae,  
Brachia non Hederæ, non vincant oscula Conchæ.*

That is,

*Go, go, young Pair; and be your Mutual Loves  
Express'd in every Part and Pore: As Doves  
In softest Murmurs speak your mighty Bliss,  
Like Ivy Twine, and close as Cockles Kiss.*

I have not the time to adjoyn the rest of his Verses, nor to speak of his Prose, which made him shine both amongst the Poets, and the Orators of his Age. But this is not the Matter. It is one thing to be an Orator or a Poet; and something else is expected in an Emperor.

One thing *Gallienus* did, by the advice of his Brother *Valerian* and his Kinsman *Lacillus*, which was extraordinary well done, and was much commended. When he heard of the Victories of *Odenatus* over the *Persians*, and how he had reduced *Nisibin* and *Charren*, and all the Country of *Mesopotamia*, and was come before *Ctesiphon*;

phon; the King of *Perſia* put to flight, his Great Men taken Prisoners, and many of the Enemy killed; *Gallienus* voluntarily divided the Empire to *Odenatus*, and presented him with the Royal Style as his Brother, and ordered Money to be coined in his Name with a Stamp, of the *Perſians* taken Prisoners. This the Senate, the City, and People of all Ages, took well. Nor was *Gallienus* one that wanted Wit.

*Instances  
of his Wit.* To give you an Instance or two of it. A great Bull appearing upon the Sands of the Amphitheatre to be hunted, and the Man that undertook it, missing his blow at him Ten times, *Gallienus* sent the Man a Crown, or Garland, which is a Reward for a Victory: Every body wondred what was the matter; and thinking it strange, that such a baffled Sportsman should be Crowned, he ordered it to be proclaimed by the Cryer, *It is a difficult thing not to Hit a Bull in Ten times.* A Merchant had sold to *Gallienus's* Lady, false Glasses for true Jewels. She, when the Cheat was discover'd, called to have the Man punished. *Gallienus* ordered him to be thrown to a Lion, to be devoured. But instead of a Lion, a Capon was let out upon him. The People wondering at so ridiculous an appearance, says *Gallienus*, *He committed a Cheat, and he hath suffered a Cheat, and so he dismissed the Man again.*

Whilst *Odenatus* was taken up with the *Perſian War*, and *Gallienus* with his Follies, the *Scytians* with a Fleet came and Plunder'd the City of *Heraclia in Thrace*, and returned home with

with the Booty: but by the way they were beaten in a Naval Fight, and lost many of their Men also by a Wreck.

Then *Odenatus* was killed by the Treachery of a Kinsman of his own, and his Son *Herod* was killed with him. His other Sons, *Herennianus* and *Timolaus*, being very young, their Mother *Zenobia* took upon her the Empire of their Father, and long governed it: Not effeminately, nor with the expected weakness of her Sex: She not only understood to reign better than *Gallienus*, but she was such a *Virago*, that many brave and prudent Emperors have come short of her.

After the death of *Odenatus*, *Gallienus* undertook the War with *Persia* himself, to revenge the Calamity of his Father: This good Action came too late. His General was *Heraclianu*s: who marching with an Army against the *Persians*, the *Palmyreni* and others of the Ealtinglings who were for the Empire of *Zenobia* met him, and defeated him so, that he lost all his Army again.

The *Scythians* in the mean time, by the way of the *Euxine* and the *Danube*, made Descents upon the *Roman Territories*, and did very much mischief. *Gallienus* sent against them *Cleodamus* and *Athenaeus*, two *Byzantines*, to repair the Towns, and fortifie such Places as wanted it. The *Barbarians* were met with about *Pontus*, and defeated: *Venerianus* defeated them also in a Sea-Fight, in which he was killed himself. Then they Ravaged the City of *Cyziqua*, and other Places in *Asia*, and afterwards

terwards all *Achaia*: in which last the *Atbenians*, under the Command of *Dexippus* the Historian, beat them, and repulsed them. Then they roved about the Countries of *Epirus*, *Macedonia* and *Bœotia*. As they were in *Illyricum*, *Gallienus* with much ado, rowz'd by the Publick Evils, came against them, and luckily slew a great number of them; which put the rest to flight, who insconsing themselves behind their Carts, escaped by the Mountain *Gessaces*. *Martianus* pursued them, and had several Battels with them afterwards with various succels. Such of them as reached home, excited all their whole Country to a Rebellion against the Romans.

The ill Government of *Gallienus* continuing in a manner insupportable, *Martianus* and *Heraclianus* entred into a Consultation about the disposing the Empire to another. *Claudius* above others, was pitched upon, though he was not then present. He was an extraordinary Man, and so much in every bodies esteem, that he seemed really to deserve the Empire; and from him it is, that the most Vigilant Cæsar *Constantius*, derives his Descent. But, inasmuch as they could not accomplish this design without the cutting off a Pest, who with dancing after the Play and the Cirque, and following his Pleasures, let the State in the mean time go to ruin, they contrived to draw him out into the Field, pretending that *Aureolus*, betwixt whom and *Gallienus* a difference had happened since their Peace, was coming against him to fight him; and as he was in the Field,

Field, they killed him. He was killed, some say, by the hand of *Cecropius*, a Colonel of the *Dalmatians*, who by his Address and Prudence had much assisted towards the pretensions of *Claudius*, about *Milan*; and his Brother *Valerian* was also killed with him at the same place; whom though some deny to have been honoured with the Imperial Style, and some make him a *Cæsar*, and some neither the one nor the other; yet this is certain, that after the Captivity of his Father, we find in the publick Registers a Note, of the *Emperor Valerian's being a Consul*: which can only mean the Son *Valerian*. The Soldiers fell into a great Mutiny upon the death of *Gallienus*, and cried him up for an Useful, Brave and Powerful Prince, taken off only to serve private Interests. But, as it is the known way to appease Soldiers, to give them Money, and great Promises, *Marianus*, with the advice of others of the principal Officers, having done this, and given them upon the spot, because they had Money enough at hand, twenty pieces of Gold a Man, they submitted, and were satisfied to have *Gallienus* entered as a Tyrant, upon the Publick Records: And then *Claudius*, a good and truly Venerable Person, a lover of his Country and the Laws, and dear to all of worth, acceptable to the Senate, and well known to the People, took the Empire upon him.

In this manner lived and died *Gallienus*, who was born to serve his Belly and his Lusts: *Character* He spent Days and Nights in Drinking and of Gallie- Whoring, without caring what became of all nus.

the

the State. About thirty Persons in his time set up for Emperors, to the dishonour of the Roman Name; nay, even Women-Revolters Governed better than he. In the Spring, to tell you some of his miserable Devices, he made himself Beds of Roses, and Pomilions of Apple-Trees, and all sorts of Fruits; Grapes he preserved three Years. He had Melons in the depth of Winter; Sweet Wine all the Year long: Green Figs and Apples fresh from the Trees in Months which were out of their proper Season. His Table-Linen was always embroidered with Gold: His Services of Gold, set with Jewels. The Powder for his Hair was of Gold-dust. He often went abroad in a Crown radiated like that of God. At Rome, where the Emperors appear always in Gowns, he wore a Purple Cloak, with Buttons of Jewels seen in Gold, and a Purple Tunick embroidered with Gold. His Belt was beset with Jewels. His Shoes were covered with Jewels. He Eat in Publick. The People he softned and attracted to him by Large-ssets. He invited the Ladies to the Feast of his Consulship; who kissed his Hand, and he presented them with four Pieces of Gold of his Coin. As a great Philosopher Xenophon once said, when he had lost his Son, *I knew that when I begat him, I begat a Mortal;* so said Gallienus, when he heard that his Father was taken Prisoner; *I knew my Father was a Mortal:* For which Saying *Annius Cornicula* vainly commends his Constancy. Going out and coming in; he was often attended with Musick; Voices and Instruments.

Instruments. He Washed in the Summer six or seven times a day; in the Winter twice or thrice. He drank always in Vessels of Gold; scorning Glass, because, he said, nothing was commoner than it. He changed his Wine every time he drank; never at one Meal drank twice of the same. His Mistresses often sat at the Table with him. A second Table was always by, of Jesters and all sorts of Mimicks. When he removed to the Gardens which bear his Name, all the Household followed him; who were admitted to Eat and Bath, and Swim with him: Women also, young and old, handsome or unhandsome, were often admitted, with whom he jested and diverted himself, whilst the Empire every where went to ruine at the same time.

He was extremely Cruel however upon the Soldiers; for sometimes he killed three or four thousand of them together in a day. He ordered a vast great Coloss to be made of him, in the form of that of the Sun; which was begun, but when he died, it was left unfinished. He designed to have placed it upon the *Esquiline*, holding a Spear, in the hollow of whose Shaft a Child might go up by steps to the top. He had ordered a Chariot and Horses, in imitation of those of the Sun, to be made proportionable to this Statue, and to be set upon a vast Basis. But the Emperors *Claudius* and *Aurelian*, who came after, thought all this foolish. He did also design to continue the Work of the Portico *Flaminia*, as far as to *Ponte Molle*; and to make it with four or five Orders of Pillars. But it would be tedious

to say more of him. Let whoever desires to know any thing more, go to *Palfurius Suras*, who hath written a Journal of his Life. I shall proceed to *Saloninus Gallienus*, his Son. And then I will say something in short, of the Thirty pretended Emperors, or Tyrants, in particular, who set up themselves against this Prince.

I must own, I have here studiously pretermitted several things, out of a respect to his Posterity: You know, Sir, very well, what a War a Man many times raises against himself, who writes of the Ancestors of another: I do not doubt, but you remember what *Tully* says in his *Hortensius*.

*Gallienus*, with the time that he enjoy'd the Empire in conjunction with his Father, reigned, it is certain, in all Fifteen Years: that is, Six Years in conjunction with *Valerian*, who then was taken Prisoner, and Ten afterwards, in which he reigned by himself. I mention this, because some have said, that *Gallienus* died in the Ninth or Tenth Year of his Reign. By which, if they mean the Years that he reigned alone, after the Captivity of his Father, it is true, that he died in his Ninth Year. But otherwise, those Decennial Games, which we have spoken of, were celebrated by him in his Tenth Year. And after them, he overcame the *Goths* or *Seytbians*, made a Peace with *Odenatus* and *Aureolus*, fought against *Postbumius* and *Lollianus*, and did many other things; some to his Honour, but more to his eternal Shame; he even Raked about the Taverns always in the Night, and passed the greatest part of his time in the Debauched Company of Pimps, Players and Poltrons.

THE

to another new empero<sup>r</sup> whose reign was of  
but 16 days; a bill was made by the  
Senate to make him Gallienus & he  
was called Gallienus the Second.

## Gallienus the Second.

By TREBELLIUS POLLIO.

**T**HIS Gallienus was the Son of Gallienus the First, and the Grandson of the Emperor Valerian the First. There is little to be said of him more, than that he was Nobly born, Educated like a Prince, and at last killed, not upon his own account, but upon the account of his Father. Some call him *Saloninus Gallienus*, because he was born at the City of Salona in Dalmatia; or because his Mother's Name was *Cornelia Salonica Pipara*, the Daughter of a Barbarian King; who whether she was the Wife, or the Mistress of his Father, it is certain, that she was one that he extremely loved. There is extant to this day in Rome a Statue, which did stand before the Street of the *Sacra Via*, but is since taken into the Temple of *Faustina*, which hath this Inscription upon it, *To Gallienus Junior Saloninus*.

Now let us proceed to the Thirty Tyrants, or Pretended Emperors, who set themselves up in the time of Gallienus the First. I shall

K   be

be short upon them. Some were Persons of no small Merit, and did a great deal of good to the Publick. But others of them deserve not much to employ our Time and Pains. And we have already obſerved ſeveral things concerning them, in the Life foregoing.

The Grandfather *Gallienus* was a conſiderable Man in the State in his time.

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THE  
Thirty Tyrants,  
OR  
Pretended EMPERORS,  
Who set themselves up against  
*Valerian the First,*  
AND  
*Gallienus the First.*

By TREBELLIUS POLLIO.

**I**Come now, with the Reader's Pardon for the plain and familiar way in which I write, to those Thirty Pretended Emperors, or Revolters, who set up themselves for the Empire, in several parts of the World, in opposition

opposition to *Valerian* and *Gallienus*. I shall put them all together, and the two Empresses with them; for not the Men only, but the Women pretended to revolt against *Gallienus*; and I shall be the shorter upon them, because I would not repeat the things that have been already mentioned concerning them, and because some of them were Persons so obscure, that there is little or no Notice taken, nor any certain Account given of them, in either the Greek or Latin Historians.

## I. CYRIADES.

**C**YRIADES was one, who first Plundered and then ran away with a great deal of Gold and Silver from his Father, of the same Name, into *Persia*: To whom his Luxury and his ill Manners, had been before a great Affliction; because his Father was a good old Gentleman, of quite another Life. In *Persia* he joined and entred himself into the Service of *Sapores* the King; whom he stirred up to make a War upon the *Romans*. This War was first of all Conducted by *Odomastes*, a Persian General, and next by King *Sapores* in Person. The Cities of *Antioch* and *Cæsarea Philippi* were taken. From the latter *Cyriades* assumed to himself the Title of *Cæsar*: which afterwards was improved into that of Emperor, and all the East shook at the Terror, or at least the

Auda-

Audaciousness of his Arms. Some say, that he killed his own Father; others deny it. However it is, when the Emperor *Valerian* came to the Persian War against *Sapores*, this *Cyriades* was killed by his own Men. His Deser-tion and Flight, his Parricide and great Luxury, are the only Memorable things of him.

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## 2. POSTHUMIUS.

POSTHUMIUS was a very Great Man in War, and as Virtuous in Peace; and in all his Life and Actions of so grave and strict a Behaviour, that when *Gallienus* establish'd his Son *Saloninus Gallienus*, a Youth, in the Government of *Gallia*, he committed him to the care of *Posthumius* as his Guardian, and as one whom he desired to be the Institutor of his Princely Accomplishments. Some say, that *Posthumius* afterwards broke his Trust, and killed *Saloninus*, as the way to his own rise to the Government of *Gallia* in his place. But it seems to be more true and more agreeable to the Manners of *Posthumius* to believe, that the *Gauls* vehemently hating *Gallienus* the Father, and not enduring to have a Boy over them, which the Son was, set the Soldiers upon him to kill him, and then made *Posthumius* Emperor. All the Army there and all the *Gauls* embraced with joy the Government of *Posthumius*. He behaved himself so well a-

mongst them seven Years, that he attained the Title of *The Restorer of Gallia*, whilst *Gallienus* in the mean time followed his Luxury and his Riot, and was a slave to the Amours of a *Barbarian Woman*. At length *Gallienus* came against him, and received a Wound with the shot of an Arrow. The whole Nation of all the *Gauls* could not but extremely love him, because he deliver'd them from the power of the *German Invaders*, and restored the State of *Gallia* unto its Pristine security. But yet as the *Gauls* are naturally a People fond of Novelties; *Posthumius* upon the occasion of his Rigour, was killed through the means of *Lollianus*, who rebelled against him; and *Lollianus* was set up Emperor by the *Gauls* in his stead. The Judgment of the Emperor *Valerian* concerning the Merits of *Posthumius*, when he made him the President of *Gallia*, appears by this Letter.

**W**E have made *Posthumius* the Commander on the Quarter beyond the Rhine, and the President of *Gallia*. A Man, the fittest for the Temper of that Nation. He will keep the Camp, the Courts of Judicature, the Tribunals, every particular Person in Order, and in their proper Rights; and he will maintain his own Dignity. He is one, whom I do most particularly admire; and in my opinion deserving a Great Post. I doubt not but you will thank me for him. If I am mistaken in him, you may assure your selves, there is no where in the World to be found a Person that I can wholly approve. I have made  
his

his Son a Tribune over the Gallia Narbonensis, who is a Youth, that will one day approve himself worthy of the Example of his Father.

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### 3. Posthumius, Junior.

This Posthumius, the Son of the precedent, was made by his Father first a Cæsar, and then Emperor with him; in which Honour he died at the same time with his Father, in the Rebellion of *Lollianus*. The only Memorable thing of him, is, that he was a Master of so much Eloquence, that his Controversial Declamations are said to be inserted into *Quintilian*; who is the most Acute Orator of all the Romans of that kind, as with the least reading in him, any one will see immediately.

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### 4. LOLLIANUS.

BY the Rebellion of this Person it was, that the Valiant Posthumius was killed, after he had retrieved and secured the Interests of the Roman Empire in *Gallia*, which were in danger to be lost under the Luxury of *Gallienus*. *Lollianus* was a Valiant Man himself; But yet the sense of his Rebellion made his Authority the less amongst the Gauls. How-

ever he was not unprofitable to the Publick : For he not only Reform'd several of the Cities of *Gallia*, but likewise the Castles, which *Posthumius* in his seven Years Reign had built upon the Enemies Country, and which after his death the *Germans* by a sudden Irruption plundered and burnt, he rebuilt ; and then he was killed by his own Soldiers, only because they thought him too Assiduous, and put too much Labour upon them.

Thus first of all *Posthumius*, then *Lollianus*, after him *Victorinus*, then *Tetricus*, (to say nothing of *Marius*) arose to be the Assertors of the *Roman* Name in *Gallia*; I believe they were all given from Heaven for that purpose, whilst *Gallienus* with his unheard of Luxury, neglected the State at that rate, that had the *Germans* broken out upon us in the same manner in consort with the *Goths* and *Persians*, so that all had conspired to our ruin, this Venerable Empire of the *Romans* had received its last period then.

As for all other things, the Lives of both *Posthumius* and *Lollianus* are obscure. Being not Persons of any great matter of Quality, they are chiefly noted for their Personal Bravery.

## 5. VICTORINUS.

After the death of the *Posthumus* and *Lollia-nus in Gallia*, *Victorinus* remained the sole Emperor there; who being a great Soldier, had been before chosen by *Posthumus* to be his Colleague, when the Emperor *Gallienus* with a great Force came against him from *Italy*: In which War, assisted with the succours of the *Germans*, *Posthumus* and *Victorinus* together, fought several Battels with the Forces of *Gallienus*; but at last received a defeat. *Victorinus* was one, that gave himself very much to corrupt the Soldiers and other Men's Wives, which proved his destruction: A Clerk to a Troop, whose Wife he had debauched, with a Party that he made, killed him at the City of *Cologne*; and his Son, a Youth, who was just before created a *Cæsar*, was killed with him. Setting aside this one Vice, *Victorinus* was a very brave and an excellent Emperor, by many commended. *Julius Aterianus* hath written this Character of him.

I know no one that ought to be preferred before *Victorinus*, who reigned in *Gallia* sometime after *Junius Posthumius*. Neither did *Trajan* excel him in *Bravery*, nor *M. Antoninus* in *Clemency*, nor *Nerva* in *Gravity*, nor *Vespasian* in his Care of the *Publick Money*, nor *Pertinax* or *Severus* in *Military Discipline*. But then his

*Lust*

*Lust and his extream passion for the Pleasures of Women, undid all so again, that People have not dared to record his Virtues, because of that Vice, for which he justly deserved the end that he had.*

He was the Son of *Victorina*, or *Victoria*, who was called, *The Mother of the Camp*; and who was the Person, that excited one after another *Posthumius*, *Lolianus*, her Son and Grandson *Victorinus*, and after them *Marius* and *Tetricus*, to assume the Empire of *Gallia*.

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## 6. *Victorinus, Junior.*

**V**ICTORINUS the Son, was declared Cæsar by his Father, and by his Grandmother *Victoria*, but about an hour before his Father was killed, and himself was killed with him. There is a small Sepulchre of them about *Cologne* in Marble, extant; which hath this Inscription, *Here lye the Two Victorini, Pretended Emperors of Gallia.*

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## 7. *Marius.*

**M**ARIUS, whom *Victoria* put up after the death of *Victorinus*, reign'd but three days, and was originally a Smith. What Tully says of a Consul, who enjoyed that Office no longer than six hours one afternoon; *We have bad*

had a Consul, says he, so severe and so strict, that no Man during his Magistracy either dined or supped or slept; one might also say the like to this Emperor. He was created one day, appeared to Reign the next, and was killed upon the Third. Not but that he was a stout Man, and one that had passed through the several degrees of Command in the Army, before he came to this. He was the strongest in the Hand and Fingers, of any one that hath been almost ever known. His Veins were more like strong Cords or Ropes about his Fingers. With one Finger he would hurt as much, as if you had a blow given with a Cudgel or a Hammer. Some say, he would only let his fore finger against a Cart, and stop it coming. Betwixt two Fingers he bruised to pieces hard Stones. A Soldier killed him upon some disgust, who had formerly been a Work-man with him in his Forge; as he struck, the Man said to him, *This Sword is of your own making.* I will give you his Speech which he made to the Army, after he was declared Emperor.

I Know, my Fellow Soldiers, that my former Trade of a Smith, of which all you yourselves are Witnesses, may be objected against me. But let any Man say what he will, I desire always to have to do with good Iron, rather than to spend my days as Gallienus does in Wine, Flowers, Mistresses, and the Taverns, so unworthily of his Father and his Quality. Let them tell me of my old Trade, so long as I can reduce Foreign

Nations

Nations with the effects of it, and make all the Almains, the Germans, and their Neighbours know, that the Romans are a People indeed of Iron, and their Swords to be the most dreaded of all things. In the mean time, I would desire you, Gentlemen, to observe, that you have made a Man your Prince, who never knew how to handle any thing but a Sword. Which I therefore take notice of to you, because I know that Gallienus, that Pest, hath nothing to oppose to me, but this.

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## 8. INGENIUS.

IN the Year of the Consulship of *Fuscus* and *Bassus*, whilst *Gallienus* lived the Life we have already so often mentioned, with his Whores, Players and Pimps, and depraved the good Parts which he had by nature in him, in a continued Luxury. *Ingenuus*, who was then the Governour of *Pannonia*, was by the concurrence of that Province, and the Legions which were in *Mæsia*, created Emperor. And it was very well for the publick Good, because it was a time, that the *Sarmatians* were so pressing, that there was a necessity of a vigorous Prince to oppose them, and remedy the publick Milery. However, *Gallienus*, as he was quick, fierce, furious, vehement and cruel, when necessity required, as well as profligate and lewd, came against *Ingenuus*, and in

in a Battel overcame him, and killed him. After which, he raged severely against all, as well Soldiers as Citizens of *Mæsia*. He left no one without a share of his Cruelty, and in several Towns he killed the whole Male Sex, so that they had not a Man-Child left alive amongst them. See the following Orders to *Celer Verianus*.

### The EMPEROR Gallienus to Verianus.

IT is not enough to satisfie me, if you kill only such as were in Arms, who exposed their Lives of themselves to the Fortune of the Battel, and might have been killed there: All the Male Sex is to be killed, old and young. Whoever hath but wished ill to me, is to be killed. Whoever hath spoken ill against me, against me the Son of Valerian, and the Father and Brother to Princes, let him be killed. Ingenuus, an Emperor! Cut, Kill, Slay! You see my Mind. I write this with my own Hand; do you it as I would my self.

Ingenuus was a very brave and serviceable Man, and also beloved by the Soldiers, which wonderfully raises the Courage of such as have an Ambition to Command. Some have said, that he escaped out of the Fight, and afterwards killed himself, rather than to fall into the cruel Hands of Gallienus.

## 9. REGILLIANUS.

BY the publick Destiny, it was so, in the time of *Gallienus*, that every one who could, started up an Emperor. Thus *Regillianus* in *Illyricum*, where he commanded, was advanced by the Assistance of those *Messian* Legions, who had served before on the side of *Ingenuus*, and upon whose Families, after the Defeat, *Gallienus* had exercised an incredible Cruelty.

The Story of the manner of the elevation of *Regillianus*, is pleasant, and a sort of a Jest. Some of the Military Men supping with him, says a Lieutenant-Tribune, *From whence think we, comes the Name of Regillianus?* From *regno*, answers one presently, *to reign*. Then begins another to derive his Name Grammatically from *Rex*, thus; *Rex, Regis, Regi, Regulus, Regillus, Regillianus*. Then, says one, *Cannot he very well be a King?* Says another, *Cannot he be our King?* Says a Third, *He is a King born, God hath given him the Name of one.* And the next day the Chief of the Army in reality set him up to be Emperor.

It cannot be denied but he always approved himself a good Soldier. *Gallienus* had before suspected him for his Merits. He was a *Dacian* by Nation, and related, it is said, to *Decebalus*, the once Famous King of *Dacia*.

*Regillianus*

*Regillianus* did several gallant Actions against the *Sarmatae*; but however, for fear of the further Fury of *Gallienus*, he was betrayed to the *Roxolani*, and killed.

*Claudius*, who succeeded to the Empire after *Gallienus*, and whose Judgment undoubtedly was of great weight in his time, writ the following Letter to *Regillianus*, whilst they were both as yet private Persons, to give him Thanks for his Care of *Illyricum*, during the Negligence of *Gallienus*, where *Regillianus* then commanded as General. I met with it in the *Archives*, and therefore it is of Authority to be inserted here.

*Claudius to Regillian, wisheth all Health.*

Congratulate the Happiness of the Publick, in having such a Captain as you, to fight their Battles at this time. *Gallienus* is happy in you, though he is one, to whom no body tells the Truth, neither of the Good nor Bad. *Bonitus* and *Celsus*, Two of his Guards, have informed me of your Action at *Scupi*, in the Upper *Moesia*, and how soon in one day you have fought, and with what dispatch. You would be thought to deserve a Triumph, did we live as in the antient Times. In short, I would only wish you to be cautious, now you Conquer at this rate, rememb'ring a certain Person, and the jealousie it may give him. Pray send me some of the Bows of the *Sarmatians*,

tians, and a Couple of the Soldiers Coats, such as you have in Illyricum, with Buttons; I have sent you a Couple of ours.

It is to be observed, that *Regillianus* was one who had not received his promotion from *Gallienus*, but from the Emperor *Valerian*; and that *Claudius*, *Macrianus*, *Ingenius*, *Posthumus*, and *Aureolus*, were all likewise made Commanders by *Valerian*; whose Judgment in the Choice of them was therefore admirable, and would have been, had he continu'd upon the Throne, a great happiness to us; because all these, and all the General Commanders whatever, that were of his promotion, were Persons so well chosen, that they merited afterwards the Favour and Votes of their Soldiers to be Emperors. And I wish, that either they could have held it out, and maintained their Empires longer, or that *Gallienus* had not reign'd so long; it had been much better for the Liberty of our State. But Fortune was pleased to indulge herself extraordinarily, to take away, not only *Valerian* from us, but several others who would have made us good Princes in his stead, and at the same time to continue to us a *Gallienus* longer, than it was certainly fit that such a one should reign.

## io. AUREOLUS.

Aureolus was another Commander of the Forces of the Province of *Illyricum*, who in contempt to *Gallienus*, as all the rest, with the instigation of the Soldiers, set himself up an Emperor. Against him came *Macrianus* and his Son with a considerable Army out of the *East*, in their way, as they were directing their March to depose *Gallienus*. *Aureolus* corrupted some of this Army to his side, and fought and slew *Macrianus* and his Son, so that the rest yielding afterwards, and joyning themselves with *Aureolus*, this additional Force made *Aureolus* a Potent Emperor. In vain did *Gallienus* attempt to reduce him. *Gallienus* made a Peace with him, and accepted of his Assistance to oppose *Posthumus* in *Gallia*. After the Death of *Gallienus*, the Emperor *Claudius* fought *Aureolus*, and slew him at the Bridge, which is called the Bridge of *Aureolus* at this day, and there he built him a small Sepulchre, with an Inscription in Greek upon it, signifying, That the Emperor *Claudius* having overcome the powerful Tyrant *Aureolus*, had given him a Sepulchre, and he would in his Clemency, have spared his life, but that the Soldiers refused it, and without his order killed him. The Bridge he dedicated to him.

## III. MACRIANUS.

THE once Famous Senator and Patriot, and afterwards the Valiant, but of all, at last, the most unfortunate Emperor *Valerian*, being taken Prisoner by the *Persians*, amongst whom he lived and died in Captivity, and left behind him Issue unworthy of such a Father; *Balista* who was Captain of the Guards to him, and *Macrianus* a principal Officer of the Army understanding what a Person *Gallienus* was, who was also at a great distance from them, and that *Aureolus* had already usurped upon him in *Illyricum*, met and consulted with the Forces which were with them in the *East* at their desire; what was to be done as to the Election of another Emperor in the place of *Valerian*. *Mæonius Aschanax* was present in Person at this Council, who says that *Balista* spoke thus.

*My Age, as well as my Inclination, and my Business sets me far from aspiring to an Empire. I cannot deny but that I should be glad to see a good Prince in the place of Valerian. But who is there for it, unless it be such a one as you, Macrianus, who are brave, resolute, honest, tried and approved in the publick Service, and what especially concerns an Emperor to be, Rich. Take you therefore the Place which is due to your Deserts. You may command my Services as long*

long as you please, only remember to discharge well the Duty which is imposed upon you, and then all the Roman World will rejoice to see you made their Sovereign.

Macrianus answered,

I confess, Balista, it is of consequence to have such a Prince as you have described; and I should be willing to serve the State, in order to depose that Pest Gallienus, from the Government of it. But this is not a Work for my Age. I am Old, I cannot Ride, as I shall be obliged to do for an Example to the Soldiers. I am one that must be frequently bathing, and must eat well; my Pleasures and my Riches have taken me off of the usages of a Soldiery Life long since. You must set up rather, Two or Three stout young Men, who may distribute themselves into several parts of the Empire, to restore it again to its former Splendor, which by the Misfortune of Valerian, and the ill Life of Gallienus is at present ruined.

Balista, understanding that he seemed to hint something about his Sons, who were brave young Men, Macrianus Junior, and Quietus, he replied thus;

We commit the Empire and the Government to your Prudence. You have Two brave young Men of your own, Macrianus and Quietus, who sometime since were made Tribunes by our Emperor Valerian. Take them to be your

L 2      Colleagues

Colleagues in the Empire: They cannot be safe, because they are good, under Gallienus.

Macrianus finding that his Meaning had been rightly taken, answered;

I submit, and as to the Soldiers, I will give them a double Pay with my own Money. Be you Balista, a careful Officer to me, and provide me Provisions in the places, where it is necessary; and I will make Gallienus, a Man beyond any thing of a Woman loose and effeminate, to understand the Power of his Fathers Commanders.

So Macrianus and his Two Sons were with the Consent of all the Troops made Emperors. The Father, and his Son Macrianus, marched presently against Gallienus, leaving the Affairs of the East in good order, under the other Son Quietus. They brought with them an Army of Five and Forty Thousand Men, with whom they engaged with Aureolus in *Illyricum*, or upon the borders of Thrace, but they were beaten, and both of them killed, and Thirty Thousand of their Men afterwards yielded themselves to the Power of Aureolus. Domitian was the General of Aureolus in this Battel, a very brave and active Soldier who derived his Family from the Emperor Domitian and Domitilla. Not to omit the Judgment of Valerian, concerning this Macrianus and his Sons, in a Letter which he sent to the Senate from the Borders of Persia.

I have

I Have entrusted in my absence, whilst I am upon the Persian War, all the Affairs of the State relating to the Military part to Macrianus. He is faithful to you, Fathers of the Senate, affectionate to me, and the Soldiery both love him and fear him. Upon all occasions he will act in concert with the Armies. Nor are you, Fathers of the Senate, strangers to the bravery of Macrianus from his beginning to this day. You have known him a Boy in Italy, a Youth in Gallia, a Man in Thrace, in his full Prime in Africa, an old Man in Illyricum and Dalmatia; in all which places his Bravery hath been approved in several Battels, in which he hath acquitted himself exemplarily well. To this it is to be added, that he hath Sons worthy to be of your Body, and worthy of your Favour. And so he goes on.

## 12. Macrianus the Son.

THIS Youth had not been made an Emperor, but only with Respect to the Prudence of his Father, in whose Hands he was. He was wonderfully Brave for his Age, and had gained himself by it great Commendations. But what signifies the Fortitude of any one Man in a Battel? He was overcome and killed by Domitian, together with his Father. His Mother was a Lady of Quality. His Fa-

ther had raised himself to the Empire from the degree of a private Soldier.

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### I3. QUIETUS.

**Q**uietus was a Youth worthy of his Father and his Brother, in conjunction with whom, as we have said, he was made Emperor, which he also deserved. But when *Odenatus*, the King of the *Palmyreni*, who had pretended to the Empire of the *East* from the Captivity of *Valerian*, heard of the entire defeat of both his Father and his Brother by *Aureolus*, he came with a Force against this Youth, vindicating as it were the Cause of *Gallienus*, and slew him first, and *Balista* soon after him. Yet had *Quietus* and his Brother lived, they might have done the State very great Service. Their Family flourishes at this day, and one thing is very remarkable of it; that it is a Family which hath, and hath always had such an Honour for *Alexander the Great of Macedonia*, that the Men continually wear his Picture in their Rings, and have it cut upon their Plate; the Women wear it finely wrought in their Heads, Bracelets, Rings, Gowns, Borders, Mantles, and all manner of Dresses. The other day, a Gentleman of that Family, *Cornelius Macer*, giving an Entertainment in the Temple of *Hercules*, he had a Gold and Silver Bowl there, on which in the midst was engraven

ved a Head of *Alexander*, and round it was all the History of him, contained in short and pretty Figures, which every one that had an Honour for that great Man was very Curious to see. I mention this, because also there is an Opinion, that such as carry about them such an Image either in Gold or Silver, are divinely assisted in all that they do.

## I4. ODENATUS.

Odenatus Prince of the *Palmyreni* in *Syria* was the Person that really secured the Affairs of the *East*, by his taking up Arms against the *Persians*, in the behalf of the captive Emperor *Valerian*. His Wife *Zenobia*, and his Sons *Herod*, *Herennian*, and *Timolaus* accompanied him in that Expedition. He first reduced under his Power the City of *Nisibis*, and all *Mesopotamia*. Then he fought *Sapores* King of *Perse*, and beat him, and put him to flight. He pursued *Sapores* and his Children, as far as to the City of *Ctesiphon*. He took the Concubines of *Sapores* Prisoners, and a great deal of Booty. He intended next to direct his Army against the pretensions of *Macrianus*, who had set himself up against *Gallienus*. But *Macrianus*, with the Son of his own Name, was killed in the Battel with *Aureolus* in *Illyricum*. Then Odenatus fell upon the other Son *Quietus*,

L 4 who

who was left in the *East*, and him he killed. And after he had composed in a great measure the State of Affairs in the *East*, himself and his Son *Herod* were likewise killed by *Maeonius*. I believe that God was angry with the Roman Empire, in that he did not continue *Odenatus* longer to us. For certainly *Odenatus* and his Lady *Zenobia* together, had re-established, not only the *East*, but all the parts of the Empire. He was a great Warriour, and he is for ever Famous besides for an indefatigable Huntsman. For from his Youth he accustomed himself to the Hunting the Lion, the Leopard, the Bear, and the rest of the wild Beasts of the Field. He was always in the Woods and upon the Mountains, enduring the Heat and the Rain, and all the Injuries that ordinarily accompany that Sport; and this hardened him again for all Weathers which he suffered in his Wars with *Persia*. His Lady *Zenobia*, no les accustomed herself so, that many say she was as valorous and as indefatigable as he; A Woman the noblest of all her Sex; and says *Cornelius Capitolinus*, the Beauty too of all the East.

**15. HEROD.**

**H**erod, the elder Son of Odenatus, born to him, not by Zenobia, but a former Wife, concurred with his Father in assuming the Empire of the East. He was a Man of an extreme delicacy of Life, wholly devoted to the Oriental and the Græcian Luxury. His Tents were embroidered, his Pavilions done with Gold, and he had all things after the Persian mode. Odenatus loved him, and indulging him his Humour, he gave him all the Royal Concubines, the Riches, and the Jewels that he took from the King of Persia. Zenobia was a right Step-mother to him, which only the more recommended him to his Father.

**16. MÆONIUS.**

**T**HIS Person was a Cousin-German to the Excellent Odenatus, whom he killed; drawn to that Fact by nothing but a cursed Envy at the Pleasures of Herod, though in the mean time he was very lewd himself; so that the Soldiers who had put him up to be Emperor after Odenatus by a mistake, killed him quickly

quickly again, as he deserved, for his Luxury. Zenobia, some says, favoured the Envy of *Mæninius*, because she could not endure to see a Step-son, made a Prince, before the Sons of her own Body.

## I7. BALISTA.

**T**H E Account about *Balista* is very various. Some say, *Odenatus* gave him his Pardon; yet because he would neither trust to *Gallienus*, nor *Aureolus*, nor *Odenatus*, he set up himself Emperor. Others say, that he was killed at the Village of *Daphne* by *Antioch*, where he lived a private Life upon an Estate which he bought there; and again, that he was killed as he lay in his Tent, by a private Soldier of *Odenatus*; and again, that he was killed by the Persons sent by *Aureolus* to take *Quietus*, after his defeat and slaughter of his Father and his Brother. However it is, *Balista* was a Famous Person, an experienc'd Statesman, of great Force in his Counsels, Eminent in his Expeditions, and a singular Manager of the Quarters and Provisions for the Soldiers. The Emperor *Valerian* gave this Character of him to *Ragonius Clarus*.

The

The Emperor Valerian to Ragonius,  
Clarus, the Praefect of Illyricum  
and Gallia.

IN the disposition of the Quarters, and the Provisions of the Soldiers, I would have you my Kinsman, if you are a good Husband, as I know you are, to follow the Example of Balista. Do you see, how he makes the thing easie to the People of the Country? Where there is Forage for the purpose, there he sends his Horse; where Corn, there he places the Foot. He compels no Man, no Landlord to find Corn there, where he bath it not; nor to feed a Horse, where he cannot. And it is certainly the best way to take things as they grow upon the place without charging the Publick with Carriages and Expences. Thus the Province of Galatia abounds in Corn; Thrace and Illyricum are full of Corn, let the Foot be quartered there. In Thrace, the Horse also might Winter very well; without damage to the Inhabitants, because the Fields afford a great deal of Grass: So where there is plenty of Bacon, or any other Commodities, the best way is, to raise and to demand the said Commodities from thence. All which are the Counsels of Balista, who charges only one Commodity upon one Province, abounding with it, and in the mean time he frees that Province from the quartering of Soldiers, because those are there, where the Corn and the Grass most is. This is now become a publick Order,

In

In another Letter, the same Emperor returns his thanks to *Balista* for all the good Methods of Government, which he owns himself to have learnt from him. Particularly he is glad, he says, that by his Counsel he hath retrenched all Persons, which do him no service ; that is, to entertain no Supernumerary Officers in the Court, nor Tribunes or Soldiers in the Army without Employes : all which he attributes to the Counsels of *Balista*.

And this is as much as I have met with, that I can rely upon, concerning him. He is often commended for a good Officer ; but little is spoken of him, as an Emperor.

### 18. *V A L E N S.*

THIS Person, being of great Note and Knowledge both in the Military and the Civil Affairs, had the Honour to be made by *Gallienus* the Proconsul of *Achaea*. *Macrianus* very much fearing him, and envying his Merits, knowing him to be his Enemy, sent *Piso* against him to kill him. *Valens* foresaw the danger, and took the care to provide himself well against it. He had no other way, as he thought, to escape, but by setting himself up an Emperor, as well as *Macrianus* had done. He did so, and escaped the power of *Piso*. But he was soon after killed by his own Men.

19. *Valens*,

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**19. Valens, Senior.**

THIS *Valens* was either Uncle, or Great Uncle to the precedent, and one that set himself up in the time of the Emperor *Decius*. It comes into my mind to mention him here, because of his Relation to, and the parity of his Fortune with the other: for after he had a few days Reigned in *Illyricum*, he was killed also.

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**20. P I S O.**

PISO was sent with a Force by *Macrianus*, to kill *Valens*, the Eighteenth in this Catalogue of Tyrants; but finding that *Valens* was provided against him, he changed his Course into the Province of *Bessaly*, and was there by the consent of a small Party, himself made an Emperor, with the Title of Emperor of *Bessalia*. He was a very good and Provident sort of a Man, to a Proverb; so that he was called in his time the Thrifty *Piso*; and he was of that Noble Family of the *Piso's*, into which *Cicero* says, to do his own an Honour, he Married his Daughter *Tullia*. He was much in the esteem of all the Great Men. *Valens*, who

who sent Ruffians after him into *Theffalia*, who Murdered him, confessed, that though he was his Enemy, he knew not what account to give of that Fact to the Gods, the Infernal Judges, because the *Roman Empire* had not then such another Person as *Piso*. The Senate upon the News of his Death, met upon the seventh of the Kalends of *July*, and unanimously decreed the Honours of a God, with this Elogium, that there never was a better Man, nor one more firm and constant than he. They decreed him a Triumphal Statue and a Chariot, to be put up to his Honour. The former is yet to be seen, amongst the others of the same kind. The latter did sometime stand about the place, where since hath been built the famous Bath of *Dioclesian*, of eternal, as well as sacred, memory.

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## 21. *ÆMILIAN.*

IT is a Familiar thing with the People of *Egypt*, to break out, like Mad-Men, into the violentest Seditions and Disorders, upon any the slightest occasions. Often have they for a matter of a Complement neglected, or for a Place in the Baths, or about the Flesh in their Markets, Herbs, Shooes, and the like, raised such Commotions, as have hazarded the Ruin of the State, and required an Army to repress them again. Thus one day a Slave belong-

belonging to the Curatour of the City of *Alexandria* was killed by a Soldier, for saying, that he had a better pair of Shooes on his Feet, than that Soldier had. The People hereupon rose, and made an Assault upon the Houle of *Emilian*, who was the *Roman General* of the Province. They came upon him in a furious manner, with Stones and Swords, and all sorts of Instruments, as is usual in a Sedition. *Emilian* had no other way in fine, to take, but with the consent of the *Egyptian Army*, who were willing to it, chiefly because they hated *Gallienus*, to make himself Absolute, and set up for an Empire. This he did, with Vigour. He went thorough the *Thebais*, and all *Egypt*, and displayed his Authority over the Barbarians. He gained himself the Title of the *Alexandrian Emperor*. But as he was preparing for an Expedition into *India*, *Gallienus* sent *Theodotus* against him, who took him and sent him Prisoner to *Rome*; where he was Strangled in the Prison, according to an Antient Custom of putting Captives to death. *Gallienus* would have after this, made *Egypt* a Proconsular Province, and given it to *Theodotus*; but the Priests prohibited him, pretending an Inscription upon a golden Column at *Mempbis* in *Egypt*; in Letters, saying, that *Egypt* would then be a Free People, when the *Romans* attempted to Govern it by Consuls; and therefore the Rods of the Consuls were never to enter into *Alexandria*. *Cicero*, against *Gabinius*, mentions the same Notion in his time: I find it also in *Proculus*, the Learned Grammian, who is

of

of great Authority, when he speaks of Foreign Countries. So that when *Herennius Celsus*, your Kinsman, the present Praefect of Egypt, not contented with the Honour which he hath, desired lately to be made a Consul, he was answered that he asked a thing, that was not to be granted; because it was contrary to an observation of the Empire.

## 22. SATURNINUS.

**S**aturninus was made a Commander by the Emperor *Valerian*, and continued so with great Applause in the Reign of *Gallienus*; till no longer being able to endure the Dissoluteness of that latter Prince, and the neglect of his Government, the Army set him up to be Emperor. He was a Man of singular Prudence and great Gravity, beloved by all, and very well known for his Victories over the Barbarians. The same day, that the Soldiers put upon him the Purple, he told them in a Speech; Gentlemen you have lost a good Captain, to make of him an ill Prince. He did several things in his Reign which were Brave: but being severe as to the Discipline of the Soldiers, the same that had raised him, killed him.

## 23. TETRI-

## 23. TETRICUS.

After *Victorinus* and his Son were killed in *Gallia*, their Mother *Victoria* persuaded *Tetricus* a Senator, who then exercised the Office of a President in *Gallia*, and was her Relation, to take upon him the Empire there. Accordingly she caused him to be Proclaim'd, and his Son to be Entitled the *Cæsar*. *Tetricus* Reigned long, and performed several things happily; but being beaten at last by the Emperor *Aurelian*, and unwilling to give himself further trouble with a perverse and an insolent Army which he had to Command, he voluntarily yielded to *Aurelian*. *Aurelian*, not being one overmuch inclined to Lenity, led him in a solemn Triumph, at the same time when he led in Triumph *Zenobia*, the Wife of *Odenatus*, and her two Sons *Herennianus* and *Tiomarus*. But being sensible, that this was very severe to be done to a *Roman* Senator, and one who had been a Consul, and President of *Gallia*; he made him, after he had thus Triumphed over him, the Governour of all the *Campagna*, *Abruzzo*, *Puglia*, *Lucania*, *Calabria*, *Hetruria*, *Ombria*, and generally all the Provinces of *Italy*; he suffered him not only to live, but to live in the greatest Splendour; and oftentimes called him by the name of either his Colleague, or his Companion in Arms, or Emperor.

## 24. *Tetricus, Junior.*

THIS Youth, the Son of the other, having been declared *Cæsar* by the Lady *Victoria*, was led in Triumph by *Aurelian* in Company with his Father. He enjoyed afterwards all the Honours of a Senator, and his Estate untouched, and left the same to his Posterity. My Grandfather hath said, that he was acquainted with him very well, and that no Man was more esteem'd either by *Aurelian*, or the following Princes, than he. The House of the *Tetrici* is extant at this day, and a very fair one upon the Mount *Cælius*, betwixt two Groves, over against a Temple of *Iris*. You have in it, in Mosaick Work, a draught of the Emperor *Aurelian*, holding out to each of these two, over whom he Triumphed, a Senatorian Robe, to signifie his investing them again in that Dignity; and they holding out to him a Sceptre and Crown, as the acknowledgements of his Victory. At the Dedication of which Piece, they say, that *Aurelian* did them the Honour to be present at their Entertainment, at their humble Request.

## 25. TREBELLIAN.

I Am almost ashamed to recount so many several Upstart Emperors, that all appeared under the single Reign of *Gallienus*, and were occasioned by his own fault: his Luxury deserving no other than to be confronted with them, and yet his Cruelty was such, that one might very well be afraid to do so too. *Trebellian*, amongst the rest, was made a Prince, in the Province of *Isauria*, by the *Isaurians* themselves. Some called him an Arch-Robber; but he gave himself the Title of an Emperor, and ordered a Medal to be made of him as such, and appointed his Court in the Castle of the City *Isaura*. He maintained his Empire for some time, by the help of the Mountains, and the Fastnesses, in which he took refuge. But being by *Cassioleus* an Egyptian, the General of *Gallienus*, and the Brother of *Theodotus*, who had before taken *Aemilian* Prisoner, drawn down into the open Field, where he could not avoid the Combat, he was overcome and killed. Yet could not the *Isaurians*, for fear of the Cruelty of *Gallienus*, be prevailed with afterwards upon any terms of Kindness and Humanity to submit. They have ever since remained as Barbarians: their Country, though in the Heart of the *Roman* Empire, is so shut up, and stands as it

were a Boundary against it, defended by its own Natural Limits, more than by its Men: who in truth are neither skilled in Arms, nor Brave, nor Virtuous, nor Wise and Prudent. But yet they are secure in only this, that they live in places inaccessible.

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## 26. HERENNIAN.

**O**Denatus, the Prince of the *Palmyreni* in *Syria*, and sometime Emperor of the East, left at his death his Wife *Zenobia* and two Sons, *Herennianus* and *Timolaus*: who being very young, *Zenobia* in their names assumed and governed the Empire of their Father, longer than it was for the Honour of the *Roman* Name to endure in a Woman. She Arrayed those Children in the Purple Habit of the *Roman* Emperors, and brought them with her to the Head of her Army, and to the Assemblies of the People, whither she often went, and Harangued them like a Man. She was the *Dido*, the *Semiramis*, the *Cleopatra* of her Age. It is a thing uncertain, what the end was of these her two Sons; whether they were killed by *Aurelian*, or whether they died their own deaths. But there are of the Posterity of *Zenobia*, living at *Rome*, in Honour, at this day.

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**27. TIMOLAUS.**

THE Account of *Timolaus* is, I suppose, the same with that of *Herennian*, his Brother. Only in one thing he is distinguished from him; which was his great Ardour for the Roman Studies; which *Timolaus* so readily imbibed, that he might have made, it is said, one of the greatest Orators in his time.

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**28. CELSUS.**

WHilst the parts of *Gallia*, *Thrace*, *Illyricum*, *Pontus*, and the East were taken up, and Cantoned into separate Empires by the several Pretenders there, and *Gallienus* passed his Life in the mean time amongst the Taverns, Baths, and Bawdyhouses; the *Africans* by the instigation of *Vibius Passienus* their Pro-consul, and *Fabius Pompeianus* the Commander on the Frontier of *Libya*, set up *Celsus* Emperor, adorning him for the purpose with a Robe of Purple, taken off of a Statue of the Goddess *Cælestis*. He had been a Tribune, but lived at this time a private Life upon his Estate, and was a Man of that Justice, and that Presence, that he seemed very well to de-

serve their Choice. But the seventh day afterwards, a Woman, *Galliena* by Name, a Relation of the Emperor *Gallienus*, killed him; so that he had no time to shew himself in. His Body was thrown to the Dogs: His Effigies, was mounted upon a Cross, and Crucified amidst the Insults of the People, as if it had been *Celsus* himself in Person. This was a new Devise of punishing the memory of a Man. The truth is, the City of *Sicca* stood out against him, keeping their Faith to *Gallienus*; and it was those especially, that urged on this disgrace.

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## 29. ZENO BIA.

TO the last shame of the Reign of *Gallienus*, and of the Roman Empire under him, the Women Revolted against him, and managed their Enterprise also extraordinary well. *Zenobia* by name, a Foreign Lady, whom we have often already mentioned; of the Lineage of the *Cleopatra's*, and the *Proloney's* of *Egypt*, as she herself said; the Wife of *Odenatus* of *Palmyra*, the Emperor of the East: whodying, she assumed the Purple, the Crown, and the Authority in his place, in the name of her Sons, *Herennian* and *Timolans*, being Infants; and she was accordingly accepted; so that whilst *Gallienus* lived as he did, and *Claudius* was taken up with the War with

the

the *Gotbs*, she continued her Reign longer, than it was otherwise sufferable in one of her Sex. And it was with great difficulty that she was overcome at last, and carried in Triumph by the Emperor *Aurelian*; who being reflected upon by some, for making a Woman a Subject of a War, and a Triumph, gives this account of her, and thus defends himself in a Letter to the Senate.

### Fathers of the Senate,

I Hear that it is Objected to me, that I have not performed a manly part in Triumphing over Zenobia. I assure you, those who blame me, would on the contrary sufficiently commend me, did they know, what a Woman she is. How Prudent in her Counsels, how Diligent in her Business, how Powerful with her Soldiers, how Generous when Necessity requires, and how Severe when there is occasion for Severity. I can say, that it was through her means, that Odenatus overcame the Persians, and putting to flight King Sapore, advanced his Arms as far as to the City of Ctesiphon. I can assure you, that this Woman was so great a Terror to the East, and to the People of Egypt, that neither the Arabians, nor the Armenians, nor the Saracens dared to move for her. Nor had I preserved to her, her life, but that I know, that she did great service even by her very Usurpation; because she kept up and asserted the Bounds of the Empire. Let them therefore, who are pleased with nothing, take the Poison of their own Tongues.

to themselves. If it is not Handsome to have Conquered and Triumphed over a Woman, what shall I say of the Emperor Claudius, that Good and Venerable Commander, who had done the same, if he had not been wholly taken up with his Expeditions against the Goths. He Privately and Prudently suffered her to Reign, to give himself the greater opportunity of effecting what he was about, whilst she preserved inviolate the ancient Bounds of the Empire of the East.

This shews what an Opinion *Aurelian* had of *Zenobia*.

*Zenobia* was a Lady of that Chastity, that she never accompanied with her Husband, more than to attempt a Conception. For after she had lain with him, she contained, and expected her Terms, to know whether she was with Child: If she was not, then she gave way to the Repetition. She lived with the Pomp of a Queen, but much according to the *Persian* Mode. She was Adored after the manner of the Kings of *Perſia*, and her manner of Eating was like theirs. But she went to Harangue her Soldiers, as the *Roman* Emperors do, with a Helmet upon her Head, and an Imperial Robe of Purple upon her Back, buttoned with a Jewel, and Jewels about the Borders, and she shew'd one Arm many times bare. She was of a Brown Complexion, Black Eyes which were incomparably lively and glittering, a Divine *Esprit*, a most delicate Shape and Preſence: her Teeth so bright, one would think them rather to be Pearls:

Pearls : a Clear and Manly Voice. She had the Severity of a Tyrant, when necessity required ; and all the Clemency of a good Prince, where there was occasion for her Goodness. Her Generosity was ruled by Prudence. She managed her Publick Treasure with a care beyond the Conduct of her Sex. She used a Coach, seldom a Litter, but often rode a Horse ; and she walked often on Foot, it is said, three or four Miles together. She was born with the Tenaciousness of a Spaniard. A sober Woman, yet she made no scruple frequently to drink with the great Officers of her Army ; and also with Persians and Armenians, whom in her Table she excelled. The Vessels for her Table were of Gold, beset with Jewels. Eunuchs advanced in years served her ; very seldom Women. She obliged her Sons to speak in Latin ; they rarely or hardly at all spoke Greek. Nor was she altogether ignorant of Latin herself ; but her modesty for fear of not doing it well, forbad her to speak it. She spoke the Egyptian Language perfectly well. It is said, she had Epitomized the Alexandrian, and the Oriental Histories, she was so well acquainted in them ; and the Roman History she had Read in the Greek. When therefore she was taken and brought into the Presence of Aurelian, O Zenobia, said Aurelian to her, why have you dared to Insult, as you have done, the Emperors of Rome ? she answered, I know you to be an Emperor, who are a Conqueror. But I have not thought Gallienus, nor Aureolus, or those others to be so ; and believing

believing that *Victorina* might be such another as my self, I desired, if it was possible, that she and I might share the Empire betwixt us.

She was led in Solemn Triumph at *Rome*, in that manner, that nothing ever appeared more Pompous, and with that Grace, in the Eyes of that City. She laboured under the Burden of her Ornaments. She had such great Jewels upon her, that though she was a strong Woman, she stopt many times, and cried, she could not go on for their Weight. Upon her Feet and Hands, she had Chains of Gold; and about her Neck a Chain of Gold, supported by one of her old Guards, a *Persian*. *Aurelian* gave her her life; which she spent afterwards with her Children at *Tivoli*, in the Quality, and according to the usage of a *Roman* Matron: an Estate was given her there for her support, near the Palace of *Hadrian*, and the same carries her name at this day.

### 30. VICTORINA.

**V**ictorina, or *Victoria*, or *Vitruvia*, was another Lady, who is to be remembred here, as she was one, who was encouraged to her Enterprizes by the ill manners of *Gallienus*. She set up both her Son and her Grandson *Victorinus* to be Emperors in *Gallia*, who were afterwards killed by the Soldiers. She set up *Posthumius*: she set up *Lollius*; she set up *Marius*

rius there, who were all first declared Emperors by the Soldiers, and then after some time, that they reigned more or less, killed. At last she set up *Tetricus*, because she would never forbear to carry on the Masculine part, which she had begun. In *Tetricus's* time, she was either killed, or taken off by a Natural Death. She gave herself the Title of the Mother of the Camp. She had Money both in Brass, Silver, and Gold Coyned for her, at the City of *Trier*; whereof there are pieces extant at this day.

I have now finished the number, and given you, Sir, the best account I can, out of the secret Paths of History, which I have traced on purpose for them, of these thirty Tyrants. You may please to accept of it, and take my Pains in good part. It is not so Eloquently, as it is faithfully writ. Because it is not fine Language, which I pretend to, but the matter of Fact. And what I write, I dictate to my Servant with that haste, that if you should ask me any thing, I have scarce a breathing time left me to answer you in.

There were two other Persons, in other Reigns, of this stamp; the one in the time of *Maximin*, the other in the Reign of *Clodius*; whom, as an Appendix, I shall think fit to produce here, to bring up the Rear of the rest, and so I shall close this point of History.

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## I. Titus Quartinus.

**T**itus, as both Dexippus, Herodian, and all Historians write, was a Tribune of the Moors, whom Maximin had dismiss from his Service. Some say, he voluntarily set himself up Emperor for fear of his life afterwards, from Maximin : others, that the Armenian Archers in Maximin's Service, having been disengaged, compelled Titus against his will to take upon him that Post. However it is, he was a Man of the first Note for his laudable Services to the State both at home and abroad. But his Reign was but little happy to him. He reigned six Months, and then after the discovery of the intended Defection of Magnus, was killed by his own Soldiers. His Wife was Calphurnia, a Holy and Venerable Woman of the Family of the Piso's, a Priestess, but once married, and adored by our Ancestors amongst the best of her Sex. Her Statue is that, which we have yet in the Temple of Venus, of Stone gilt. She wore in her time Unions, such as Cleopatra was said to wear ; and she had a Charger of twenty Pound weight of Silver, whereon was Ingraved the History of her Family. This might be too much perhaps to mention, if it did not naturally come in my way.

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## 2. CENSORINUS.

THE next is *Censorinus*: a Man, who was very much a Soldier, and of an Antient stamp of Honour in the Senate. He had been twice a Consul, twice a Captain of the Guards, thrice the Governor of the City of *Rome*, four times a Proconsul, thrice the Lieutenant of a Province with Consular power, twice a Proprator, four times an *Aedile*, thrice a Questor, besides two extraordinary Commissions which he had into *Persia* and *Sarmatia*. In the *Persian War*, in the time of the Emperor *Valerian*, he received a Wound, of which he halted in one Foot. After all these Honours, as he lived an old Man upon his Estate, he was taken out by the Soldiers, and made Emperor, which was under the Reign of the Emperor *Claudius*. Those who jested upon him, called him also a *Claudius*; because of his *halting*, from *Claudico*, to Halt. In seven days afterwards, from his Elevation, the same Persons that had raised him, killed him; they thought he was too strict, and of too severe a Discipline for them. His Sepulchre stands about the City of *Bologna*, where in great Letters are written upon it all his Honours, concluding with this; *Happy in every thing, but an Emperor*. His Family, who are yet Extant, and famous by the name of the

the *Censorini*, betook themselves out of a disgust, to *Rome*, and the Publick Affairs, some to the Country of *Tbrace*, and some into *Bithynia*. They have a fine House belonging to them in *Rome*, adjoyning to that of the *Flavian Family*: It was the House of *Titus*, the Eleventh Emperor of the *Romans*, they say formerly, in his time.

So now I proceed to the Emperor *Claudius*, with whom I shall joyn his Brother *Quintillus*, and some few things, that relate to that Excellent and Noble Family. But whatever I shall say of the Life of *Claudius*; it must be expected beforehand to fall short of the Merits of so great a Prince.

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the *Censorini*, betook themselves out of a disgust, to *Rome*, and the Publick Affairs, some to the Country of *Thrace*, and some into *Bithynia*. They have a fine House belonging to them in *Rome*, adjoining to that of the *Flavian Family*: It was the House of *Titus*, the Eleventh Emperor of the *Romans*, they say formerly, in his time.

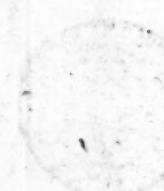
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THE  
Life and Reign  
OF THE  
EMPEROR  
*CLAUDIUS,*

Dedicated to the  
EMPEROR  
*Constantine the Great.*

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By TREBELLIUS POLLIO.

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I AM happily come to the Emperor *Claudius*; whose History I shall endeavour to write with the greater care, because of his Relation to *Constantius* the Cæsar. Nor can I refuse this piece of Service to the Memory of so

so great a Prince. For since I have already given my self the trouble of writing upon those Tumultuary Reigns, and such Petty Kings as the Thirty foregoing, and upon the Actions also of *Zenobia* and *Victorina* two Women; the Condition of Affairs under the Emperor *Gallienus* coming to that pass, that even the Women as well as Men Usurped upon him; It would be a Crime in me to choose to be silent of a Prince, who was Great Uncle to *Constantius* the Cæsar, and who by his Bravery overcame the *Gotbs*, and put an end to the publick Calamities of the State: who, though not himself the Author of the Design against *Gallienus*, yet for the Publick Good, was made an Instrument of our deliverance from that Prodigy of an Emperor; and had he lived long upon the Throne, he had revived to us by his Virtues, his Counsels, and his Conduct, the *Scipios*, and the *Camillus*, and all those Noble Romans of Antient Times.

His Reign was short. But yet the same would have been thought of it, though he had attained to the greatest Age. Every thing in him was Admirable, every thing in him was Conspicuous, and to be preferred even before the most Triumphant Actions of the Antients. He had the Bravery of *Trajan*, the Piety of *Antoninus*, the Moderation of *Augustus*, and the Excellencies of all the Great Princes in that manner, that instead of taking an Example by others, had those Princes never been, his single Example had been enough for all the World. The Learned in the matter of Nativities are of

an Opinion; that one hundred and twenty Years is the greatest Age given to a Man to live; and more, they pretend, hath not been permitted to any; only to *Moses* the Friend of God, as the Books of the Jews speak, who attained unto one hundred and twenty five Years: And when he complained that he died, whilst as yet he had all his Senses intire and vigorous, it was answer'd him, by I know not what Deity, that no Person was to live above that Age. Now had *Claudius* lived to one hundred and twenty Years, though his Death must have of necessity proceeded at that time, yet would no body have desired it then, as *Tully* speaks concerning *Scipio*, because his Life was stupendous and admirable. Take him, whether at Home or Abroad, and what is there, that is Great, that he did not discover? He Loved his Parents, shall I say? He Loved his Brothers, and this is no Miracle. He Loved his Relations, a thing which is in our times to be compared unto a Miracle. He Envied no one: The Wicked he punished. Corrupt Magistrates he openly and publickly Condemned. He overlook'd the Indiscretions of Fools. He made excellent Laws. He was that Person upon the Throne, that those of his Race have been since Courted to the Empire by the greatest Princes, and are dear in the best Affections of the Senate.

I may be thought perhaps to speak this in flattery to *Constantius*, the Cæsar. But I appeal as well to the Conscience of your Majesty, as to my Manner of Life, to be my Witness;

*Honours  
done to  
him by  
the People  
of Rome;*

ness, Whether I have ever thought, or uttered, or acted any thing at any time, that is of that Nature. I have before my eyes the Emperor *Claudius*; whose Life, Probity, and all the Actions of his Reign have given such a Fame of him to Posterity, that both the Senate and the People of *Rome* conferred upon him unparallel'd Honours, after his Death. A Shield in Gold, wherein is engraven his Image, was by the Voice of the whole Senate, set up in his Honour in the House of the Senate, where it is extant at this day. The People of *Rome* (which never was done before) at their own expence, set up his Statue of Gold of the heighth of ten Foot in the Capitol, before the Temple of the most High and Excellent *Jupiter*: In the Publick Forum was his Statue in Silver, in a Triumphal Robe, erected upon a Column, with the Acclamations of all Mankind; the Silver being of one thousand and five hundred pound weight. As if he had a prospect of things future, he revived and propagated the Honour of the Family of the *Flavii*, of which was *Vespasian* and *Titus*, not to mention *Domitian*, because he was one unworthy of it. In a short time he finished the War with the Goths. So that if I must be thought to Flatterer, the Senate, the People of *Rome*, the Foreign World, and the Provinces are all Flatterers with me. For all Orders of Men, all Ages, and every City have honoured *Claudius* with Statues, Banners, Crowns, Shrines, Arches of Triumph, Altars, and Temples.

It is fit for all the World, but especially those who would imitate the Examples of good Princes to know, with what Acclamations and Affection the Senate received this Prince: and in the Voice of the Senate, one may see in a manner the Sense of Mankind. The News came to them of his Elevation, upon the Ninth of the Kalends of April, which is the Festival of Cybele, whilst they were in the Chappel of that Goddess. But they could not perswade themselves to continue longer there, to Celebrate the Duties of the Day. They took their Robes, and repaired to the Temple of Apollo; where reading the Letters which were sent to <sup>and by the</sup> them from Claudius, they expressed themselves Senate. in his Honour as follows:

*The Gods continue Claudius our Emperor to us.*  
This was repeated sixty times. *We have always wished to have Claudius to be our Emperor, or such a one as you.* This was repeated forty times. *The State wanted a Claudius to Govern it.* This was repeated forty times. *You are a Brother, a Father, a Friend, a Good Senator, and Truly a Prince.* This was repeated eighty times. *Avenge us, O Claudius our Emperor, of Aurelius.* This was repeated five times. *Avenge us, O Claudius our Emperor, of the Palmyreni in Syria.* This was repeated five times. *Deliver us, O Claudius our Emperor, from the Usurpations of Zenobia and Victorina.* This was repeated seven times. *Tetricus hath done nothing why we should Complain of him to your Majesty.*

The first Action of *Claudius*, after his accession to the Empire, was his Victory over *Aureolus*, who had made himself the more troublesome, because he was much in the favour of *Gallienus*. *Claudius* fought him, and defeated him, and published Edicts to the People, and sent Letters to the Senate, wherein he declared him, upon his refusal still to submit himself, an Usurper. *Aureolus* desired a Treaty of Accommodation with him: But *Claudius* was deaf to that Motion, and told him very gravely, that he was not a *Gallienus* to be ask'd such a thing, who might comply with him, because he feared him. At length *Aureolus* was killed by the Soldiers at *Milan*, and received that End which his Life and Manners deserved. Some Historians ridiculously endeavour to Commend him. *Gallus Antipater* calls him a *Golden Emperor*; as if he was the better Man, because his Name in the Latin refers to the word *Aurum* or Gold. But as that Writer is the Father of Flatterers, and the Reproach of Historians, so I have often known the Name of *Aureolus* given to a Good Gladiator; and your Majesty's Book of the Publick Sports hath this very Name in the List of the Names of the Gladiators. But to return to *Claudius*.

*He de-  
feats Au-  
reolus.*

The *Goths*, that had made a shift to escape home from the Army of *Martianus*, as we have said before in the Life of *Gallienus* I. excited at their arrival, all the Nations and People of their Confederacy, to fall to make Depredations upon the Lands of the Empire. Soseveral

ral Nations of the *Scytbiāns*, the *Peuceni*, the *Trutungi* or *Grutbungi*, the *Ostrogoths*, the *Vir-thungi* or *Vithungi*, the *Gypides*, the *Celtæ*, and the *Heruli*, broke in together upon us and laid many places waste, whilst *Claudius* was taken up elsewhere. Especially he was so tedious with the Preparations that he was making for this *Gotwick War*, to conclude the same effectually, as he ought, that he tryed, as it were, the utmost Patience of the Fates: And yet I think, that this really redounded the more to his Glory, and made his Conquest the more Illustrious in the Eye of all the World. Of the Enemy, there were three hundred and twenty thousand Fighting Men. Tell me now, he, who accuses me of Flattery, whether he thinks, that *Claudius*, who Conquer'd all these, is but little to be admired. A Body of three hundred and twenty thousand Fighting Men! It is an Army for *Xerxes*. One would think such a Number Fabulous, the Invention of a Poet. The Enemy were three hundred and twenty thousand Fighting Men! To which add the Servants, the Families, and the Carriages following them, and ones Mind will be full of Imaginations of their drinking up Rivers, and consuming whole Woods, and that the Earth it self laboured under the weight of so much Barbarian Proud Flesh.

*Vast numbers of the Barbarians*

The Letter of *Claudius* to the Senate, which he ordered should be read to the People, concerning the Enemy, was this: Dictated by himself, and not by his Secretary.

To the Senate and the People of  
Rome, the Emperor *Claudius*.

Fathers of the Senate,

YOU may believe, that I send you the real Truth. The Barbarians that have broken in upon the Roman Empire, are three hundred and twenty thousand strong. If it shall be my fortune to overcome them, you will not be Ungrateful to my Services. But if I overcome them not, you are only to remember, that I Fight after the Reign of a Gallienus. The whole Empire is spent and exhausted. And I now shall Fight, after the Loss of Valerianus, and the Revolts of Ingenuus, Regillianus, Lollianus, Posthumius, Celsus, and a thousand others, that set up themselves in Contempt of the Emperor Gallienus. I want Shields, Swords, and Spears for the purpose. The Provinces of Gallia and Spain, which are the Strength of the Empire, are in the Hands of Tetricus. All our best Archers are kept from us by a Lady Zenobia; which is a shame to mention. Whatever therefore we do, it will in our Circumstances be great enough.

But yet the brave *Claudius* overcame the numerous Enemy, and in a small time crushed them to pieces: He scarce left any of them living to return home. And what's a Shield, feated. I beliech you, hung up in the Senate; or what's one Statue of Gold, in proportion to the

the just Reward of so great a Victory? Says the Poet *Ennius* of *Scipio*, O the Statue, which the People of Rome will make of you, and what a Pillar will they erect, on which to express your Achievements? But we may say, that It is not Columns, nor Statues, but the strength of his own Fame, which Immortalizes the ever Renowned Flavius Valerius Claudius.

The same Enemy had with them besides this, two thousand Sail of Shipping; which is double the number of all the Grecian and the Macedonian Fleet, that heretofore went against Troy and the other Cities of Asia. And yet the Fictions of the Poet have magnified that too: whereas this that I speak of, is the very Matter of Fact. And can we be said then to flatter *Claudius*, who defeated, oppressed, and cut in pieces a Barbarian Fleet of two thousand Sail, and an Army of three hundred and twenty thousand Men? All the Carriages and Train that attended so great a number, he either burnt, or reduced, and made Slaves of the Families belonging to their Camp: I will give you his own Letter to *Janius Brocchus*, the Governour of *Illyricum*, in which himself relates the Victory.

### The Emperor *Claudius* to *Brocchus*.

WE have defeated an Army of three hundred and twenty thousand Goths, and we have destroy'd their Shipping, which was two thousand Sail. The Rivers are covered with Shields,

and all the Shores with Swords and Javelins : The Fields are not to be seen for the Bodies of the dead. No Road is clear of them. A vast Carriage is left to us. We have taken so many Women Captives, that our Victorious Army may, every Man of them, have to himself two or three a piece.

I cannot but deplore the Misfortune of the Reign of *Gallienus*, and the Condition of the State under six hundred Usurpers, that set up themselves against him. Had those Soldiers and those Leigions all been safe, which were so unhappily lost in the several Battels fought betwixt *Gallienus* and his Adversaries, what an addition of Strength would it have been to the Empire ? It is to be ascribed to *Claudius*, that the Honour of the Arms of the Empire was retrieved after so publick a Loss. He had several Battels with the Enemy in the Province of *Moesia*, and before the City of *Marcianopoli* in *Bulgaria*, and divers of their Kings were taken, and Noble Women of divers Nations, and great numbers of others perished in the Rivers. The Roman Provinces were filled with Gotick Slaves, who were employed to Till the Ground. No Town or Quarter but could shew you Goths, acquired by the Triumph of our Arms. What Foreign Barbarian Cattle did our Ancestors then see ? what Sheep ? what Horse ? All this redounds to the Glory of *Claudius*, who at once secured, and infinitely enriched the Empire.

*His sever-  
ral victo-  
ries.* He fought the Enemy at *Byzantium*; the People there, as many as had escaped the bloody

Hands

Hands of the Soldiers of *Gallienus* bravely assisting him. He fought them at the City of *Theffalonica* in *Macedonia*, which the *Barbarians* had laid Siege to in his absence. He fought them in divers Countries, and every where beat them. One would almost think, that he had a Prescience of his future Kinsman *Constantius* the *Cæsar*, and that he was settling the Empire in safety for him against his Reign.

This brings it to my mind to say, that *Claudius* was indeed foretold by the Oracles which he consulted, and the Lots that he drew, not only of his own Elevation, but that others of his Race should come to the Empire after him. He consulted also about his Brother *Quintillus*; because he was willing to take him to be his Colleague in the Empire. But he was answer'd so, as to signify, that *Quintillus* had not long to live. And I have the rather inserted this, because it shews, that *Constantius* the *Cæsar* who is of the Blood of *Claudius*, was foreseen and prognosticated so long ago as in the Reign of his Great Uncle; and consequently he is a Person of a Divine Appointment, of an Imperial Family, and we may hope for many Princes to descend from him: which I presume to offer at least with all due submission and respect to their Majesties, *Dioctesian* and *Maximian*, and to *Galerius* his Brother, to whom I wish all Health.

During the time that *Claudius* was managing the War against the *Goths*, the *Palmyreni* in *Syria* under the Arms of *Sabas*, or *Zabdas*, and *Timagezes*, made War upon the *Egyptians*.

The

The *Ægyptians*, who are an obstinate and an indefatigable People in War, defeated them, but with the loss of *Probus* their General, who was killed by the Arts of *Timgenes*. The *Ægyptians*, after this, submitted themselves all to the Obedience of the Emperor of *Rome*, and accordingly swore Fealty to *Claudius*, though he was not then present with them.

In the Year of the Consulships of *Attianus* and *Orbitus*, the very Heavens signally assisted the War of *Claudius*. A great multitude of the *Barbarians*, that were yet remaining, had fled for refuge to the Mountain *Hæmus*, and the adjoining Province in *Thrace*. But they were so distressed there with a Famine and a Pestilence, that their own Calamities anticipated the Work of our Arms; nor would *Claudius* give them that honour to Conquer them in the Condition they then were. Thus this fierce War ended, and the *Roman Name* was eased of those Terrors with which it was threatned in the beginning. One thing the Truth obliges me to observe; that such, as think we Flatter, may know that we conceal nothing, which it is requisite, that a History should publish. Once after a full Victory that *Claudius* had received of the Enemy, his Men, grown careless with the Success, which is apt to disorder the wisest Heads, fell so to Plunder, that they forgat all thoughts and fears of the Enemy. Therefore a Party of the Enemy that had fled, returning unexpectedly again upon them, whilst they were yet ingaged wholly in Plundering, cut off of them two thousand.

land. But as soon as *Claudius* saw it, he drew up his Troops, and took all that Party of the Enemy Prisoners, and laid them in Irons, and sent them to *Rome*, to be kept for the bloody Purpose of the Fights of the Gladiators. So *Claudius* with his good Conduct retrieved that Milcarriage of his Men, or rather that Blow of Fortune; and the Enemy by their Stratagem only heightened his Victory, and their own ruine.

In this War the *Dalmatick* Horse signaliz'd themselves much. *Claudius* himself hath been sometime thought to derive his Origin from their Country; though others make him a *Trojan*, and pretend to bring him down even from *Iulus* and *Dardanus*, the two most Antient Kings of *Troy*.

The Enemy had in this War, thrust themselves into the Island of *Crete*, and attempted to lay waste that of *Cyprus*. But their Army every where labouring under Sicknes, they were likewise easily reduced there.

Then, the *Gothick* War being finished, and the general Sicknes raging more and more, *Claudius* fell sick of the same and died, and the Heavens received him, to whom his Virtues so particularly allied him.

After his death, his Brother *Quintillus* with universal Consent ascended the Empire: Not as if it was by Inheritance; but he was preferred to it for his deserts. He was so good a Person, and so truly, as I may say, in Virtue, his Brother's Brother, that he would have been made Emperor, though he had never had that Relation by Blood.

Blood. Under him the *Barbarians* that yet remained, laid waste the City of *Kenkis* in *Thrace*, and attempted *Nigeboli* in *Bulgaria*: but they were defeated and suppressed again by the Valour of those of the Country. His Reign was so short, that he had not the time to be Master of any great Action. The Soldiers killed him, as they did *Galba* and *Pertinax*, the seventeenth day of his Reign; only because he was strict upon them, and shew'd himself a better and more truly a Prince, than they desired to have him to be. *Dexippus* indeed does not say so plainly that he was killed; but only that he died, without mentioning the manner of his Death, as if he thought it dubious.

Having given this Account of the Military part of *Claudius*, I should be wanting to the Reader, if I did not in the next place observe some few things concerning his Family and Person. He had two Brothers *Quintillus* and *Crispus*. *Crispus* had a Daughter called *Claudia*, who was married to *Eutropius*, a Noble *Trojan* by descent, who was the Father of *Constantius* the *Cæsar*. *Claudius* had some Sisters; one of which was called *Constantina*, married a Tribune of the *Affyrians*: but she died young. Concerning the Father and Ancestors of *Claudius*, I know little, because most Persons have written differently about them: *Claudius* himself was grave in his Manners, of a singular good Life, extraordinary Chaste and Virtuous. He drank little, eat quick, was Tall, his Eyes bright and flagrant, a full Visage, and so strong in the Arms, that he hath oftentimes struck out

*Death of  
Quintillus*

*Extradi-  
on and  
Family  
of Claudi-  
us.*

out the Teeth of a Horse, or a Mule, with a blow. He did this once, when he was a young Man, Wrestling with the strongest there in the *Field of Mars*, at the Publick Exercises of the Soldiers, the Party with whom he Wrestled, giving him a twist by the Cods, which was unlawful, *Claudius* in a passion lift up his Hand, and struck out all his Teeth at once. The Emperor *Decius* was then present; who, it not being an Action to be punished, because it shew'd both the Bravery and the Modesty of *Claudius*, commended him rather publickly for it, and presented him with the Collars and Bracelets, and ordered him to Wrestle no more, to avoid further occasions of Quarrel. He left no Children: *Quintillus* left two, and *Crispus*, as I said, one Daughter.

What an opinion the Emperors *Valerian*, *Decius*, and *Gallienus* had of *Claudius*, whilst he was their Subject: and the probability that then appeared of his future Elevation, we may see in these following Letters.

A Letter of the Emperor *Valerian*  
to *Zosimus* the Procurator of the  
Province of Syria.

I Have given the Command of the Fifth Legion,  
called Martia, unto *Claudius*; who is an Illyrian born, and a Man of so much Bravery and Honour, that his Equal is not easily to be found in Ages past. You shall allow him for his Salary,

one

out of our Granaries every Year, 3000 Bushels of Wheat; 6000 Bushels of Barley; 2000 Pound of Bacon; 3500 Quarts of Old Wine; 150 Quarts of the best Oyl; 600 Quarts of other Oyl; 20 Bushels of Salt; 150 Pound of Wax; Hay, Straw, Vinegar, Roots, Herbs, as much as he wants: 20 Parcels of Skins (with 10 to each Parcel) for his Tents; Mules every Year 6; Horses every Year 3; Camels every Year 10; She-Mules every Year 9; of Wrought Silver every Year 50 Pound weight; Philips 150, having our Image upon them, yearly; 47 more in Occasional Presents, and 160 Denieres. Also for Pots, Flaggons, Cups, and other Vessels of Brass, 22 Pound weight; Officers Coats, 2; Clasps of Silver, gilt, 2: One Buckle of Gold; one Silver Belt, gilt; one Ring set with two Gems of an Ounce weight: One Bracelet of 7 Ounces; one Collar of a Pound weight; one Helmet, overlaid with Gold; two Shields, inlaid with Gold; one Cuirasse, which he shall restore again; two Herculean Javelins; short Darts, two; Sibes, two; Hedge-Bills, four; One Cook, whom he shall restore: One Muletier, whom he shall restore: Two Handsome Women of the Captives, for his Mistresses: One Albe or White Vest of Silk, trimmed with Purple: One Robe de Chambre, trimmed alike: One Secretary, whom he shall restore: One Sewer, whom he shall restore: Cyprian Table-Beds, two Pair: Linnen Vests plain, two: One Gown, which he shall restore: One Senatorian Robe, which he shall restore: Running Footmen, two: One Carpenter: One Controller of his Household; One Water-Bayliff; One Fisherman: One Confectioner. Of Wood every day, a thousand Pound

Pound weight, if it is to be had; or if not, as much as you conveniently can. Of Charcoal, every day four Pans. One Bagnio-man; and Wood for the Bath; unless he goes into the Publick Baths. And for other things, which for their minuteness cannot be specified here, you will furnish him with them according to discretion; that is so, as to give him the things themselves in Specie; and not according to the Value of them. If anything of all this cannot be had at any place, let it not be Accounted, nor the Price of it be allowed in Money. I have particularly appointed him all this Provision and Equipment, not as a Tribune, but as a General; because he is a Man, who deserves to have this and greater Honours shewn him.

A Letter of the Emperor Valerian to Ablavius Maræna, the Captain of the Guards.

C LAUDIUS, of whom you complained, and said, the Senate and the People did the same, that he was still a Tribune, and not preferred to Command Armies; to cease your Complaints, is made the General of all the Province of Illyricum. He hath under his Command the Armies of Thrace, Mœsia, Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Dacia. I think him so great a Man, he may expect, that I shall make him a Consul; and if it is agreeable to his mind, to be so, a Captain of my Guards. I assure you, I have appointed him as great a Salary, as is allowed to the Governor

nour

nour of Ægypt: And the same Cloaths as I give to the Proconsul of Africa, and as much Money as the Chief Justice of Illyricum receives, and as many Officers as I allow to my self in every City; whereby all the World may see the Esteem which I have for him.

A Letter of the Emperor Decius concerning Claudius.

*Decius to Messala, the President of Achaia, wisheth Health.*

After some other things, says he, *Claudius* the Tribune is a very fine Young Man, a stout Soldier, and a faithful Servant. He is fit for the Service of either the Camp, or the Senate, or the Court. We have order'd him to the Streights of Thermopylae, and to take care of the Peloponese: Knowing no Person, who can acquit himself better than he, of the Charge which we give him. You will furnish him with a Draught of 200 of the Dardarian Horse, 100 Cuirassiers, 160 Light Horse, 60 of the Cretian Archers, and 1000 well-Arm'd Men of the New Recruits; who are very fit to be put under his Command, because there is no Person that hath more Zeal, more Valour, more Prudence than he.

A

## A Letter of the Emperor Gallienus.

Nothing troubles me more, than what you have intimated, That Claudius my Kinsman and my Friend, is very Angry, upon some Suggestions against me, which are most of them false. I desire you therefore, my Venustus, as you are faithful to me, by the means of Gratus and Herennianus, to reconcile him again, unknown to the Army in Dacia, who are out of Order already, for fear they should break out worse: I have sent a Present, which you will take care that it be well Accepted; and not to let him know, that I understand his Resentments, lest he think me angry at him, and a seeming necessity should oblige him to betake himself to the last Measures. I have sent him two Cups of Silver of three Pound weight, set with Precious Stones: Two Cups of Gold of three Pound weight, set also with Precious Stones: A Bason of Silver of twenty Pound weight, engraven with clusters of the Berries of Ivy: A Charger of Silver of thirty Pound weight, wrought in the Vine Leaf: Another great Plate of Silver of 23 Pound weight, wrought in the Ivy Leaf: Another Serving-Dish in Silver of 20 Pound weight, with a Man a Fishing represented upon it: Two Pots of Silver inlaid with Gold, of the weight of 6 Pound; and other lesser Vessels of Silver, to the weight of 25 Pound: Ten Egyptian Cups of several sorts of exquisite Work: Two Cloaks of right Purple, Bordered all about: Sixteen several Vests: One White Tunick of Silk,

O

wrought

wrought with three Ounces of Gold. Three pair of Buskins of the Parthian Mode: Ten Dalmatian little Girdles: One Cloak of the Dardanian Mode: One Illyrian Coat: One French Cloak: Two good Thick Ruggs: Four Spanish Handkerchiefs: 150 Valerian's in Gold, and 300 Salonin's.

The high  
Approbation  
of him by the  
Senate.

To this I shall only add the Judgment of the Senate, and the High Acclamations which they gave him, whilst yet a Private Person, upon the News of his Success against the Goths and Scyrians in Illyricum, in a Battel in which he and Martianus Engaged them. They cryed,

*The most Valiant Claudius, we Salute you; We Congratulate your Bravery and your Fidelity. We unanimously Decree a Statue to be erected to the Honour of Claudius. We all desire to have Claudius to be a Consul. He hath acted like a Man, that loves his Country and his Prince. The Ancient Roman Warriors did thus. You are Happy, Claudius, in the good Opinion of the Princes. We Congratulate your Virtues, and desire your Promotion. May you Live, and be beloved by the Emperor.*

It would be too long, to go through all the Elogies, which this Great Man deserved. Only one thing I ought not to forbear to say more, which is, That both the Senate and the People Loved him, before his Reign, in his Reign, and after his Reign; that certainly neither Trajan, nor the Antoninusses, nor any other former Prince hath, in that respect, been so very Happy as he.

THE

A. Christi  
CCLXXXI.

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THE  
Life and Reign  
OF THE  
EMPEROR  
AURELIAN.

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Written by  
FLAVIUS VOPISCUS.

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UPON the Festival of the Goddess *Cybele*, which is a time that with us we know is very pleasant; and full of all Mirth and Freedom both in our Words and Actions; the honourable the Governour of the City of *Rome*, *Junius Tiberianus*, whom I cannot mention but with a particular Respect, took me with him, after the Ceremony of the Day was over, in his

Occasion of  
the Au-  
thor's writ-  
ing this  
Life.

Chariot from the Palace to the Gardens of *Varius*; and as his Mind was then at ease, and free from the Cares and the Thoughts of the publick Affairs, he did me the Honour to Entain me with a great many things, and especially about the Lives of the *Roman* Emperors. Passing by the Temple of the Sun, which had been built by the Emperor *Aurelian*, from whom *Junius Tiberianus* derived in part his own Blood and Family, he ask'd me, what Person had writ the Life of that Prince; I told him, I had read his History by some Greek Authors, but never by any *Roman*. At which he sighed and said, *Amongst the Antients, not a Thersites nor a Sinon, nor any remarkable, tho' a monstrous sort of a Man appeared, but we know him very well, and his Character is recorded to Posterity.* And shall the Memory of so renowned and so incomparable a Prince, as *Aurelian* be forgotten, by whom the whole World was regained to the Obedience of the Romans? God deliver us from this folly! If I mistake not, we have a Journal of this Prince by us, and his Wars digested in a due order of History. I would wish that you would take them and consider them, and add the things to them that you find relating to his Life. I will promise to furnish you with that Journal, out of the Ulpian Library. You will see, it contains almost all things concerning him; because it is a Book in which the Occurrences of every day, as they happened, were set down by his own especial Order. So I would desire you to represent him to the World, justly as he was, to your Power.

I submitted to what the Governour said and commanded me, and I furnished my self both with the Greek Historians, and all things else necessary to my purpose, out of which I have compiled according to the best of my Judg-  
ment, his small Treatise which I here de-  
sire to make a Present of, Sir, to you. And  
if this does not satisfie you, I can only refer  
you to the Greek Originals, and to the Jour-  
nal in the *Ulpian Library*, which you may be  
free to examin when you please.

We had some Discourse, whilst we were in the same Chariot together, concerning *Trebellius Pollio*, who hath written an Account of all the Emperors, whether of famous or of obscure Note, from the Two *Philips* to the Emperor *Claudius* and his Brother *Quintillus*. The Governour said, *That Trebellius Pollio had deli-  
ivered several things without due care, and o-  
thers too short.* To which I made him answer, *That there is no Writer of History, but what bath his  
Mistakes in one kind or other.* I shew'd him par-  
ticularly in what *Livy*, in what *Salust*, in what  
*Cornelius Tacitus*, in what *Trogus Pompeius* are  
evidently mistaken, and proved to be so. He  
agreed with me, and giving me his Hand very  
pleasantly, said, *Write, as thou wilt. You may  
be sure, whatever you say, you lye with good Com-  
pany, and no less than the Chief Historians that  
are so much admired in the World.*

To make no further Preamble then, which Extracts  
would but be impertinent; the Emperor Au- on of Au-  
relian was born at the Town of *Sirmium*, in the  
Lower *Pannonia* or *Sclavonia*; that is, the ge-

nerality of Men place his Birth there. Some give him to the Province of *Dacia Ripensis*; and one Author I remember I have read, that makes him to be born in *Mæsia*. As it often happens in Persons, who raise themselves so from a low Birth, that the true place of their Nativity is unknown; and in the mean time others are devised or dissembled for them, which may seem to reflect upon them a greater Honour. However, it is not a matter of such moment to know of a great Prince where he was born; as what signalized him, and made him great. Do we admire *Plato* because he was born at *Athens*, or because he was so singular and so illustrious a Philosopher? Or are *Aristotle* and *Zeno*, the less because they were born in the little Villages of *Stagira* and *Elea*? Or is *Anacharsis* the meaner, because he was a *Scyrian* born? When the Merits of the Philosophy of all these have every where raised their Fame to the Heavens.

*Aurelian* was born of an obscure Family, and mean Parents. He had a great vivacity of Wit from his first Years. He was remarkably strong of Body, and never passed a Day, though it was a Holy-day, and a time of publick rest, without exercising himself at the Javelin, the Arrow, and other Arms. *Callicrates Tyrius*, who is one of the most Learned Grecian Writers, says, that the Mother of *Aurelian* was a Priestess of the Temple of the Sun, in that Village where she and her Husband lived, and that she had something of the Power of Divination in her; particularly once reviling

ling the follies of her Husband, and his low Condition, she said to him, *You, the Father of an Emperor!* As if she had a prescience of *Aurelian's* being hereafter an Emperor; which yet further he says, was predicted by many other Tokens. A Serpent came and incircled it self often about the Vessel, in which he was *washed*; nor would his Mother, when she saw it, suffer it to be killed, but made much of it; and it escaped the Attempts that were made by any to kill it. The Emperor then reigning, having made an Offering to the Temple of the Sun, where *Aurelian's* Mother was a Priestess, of a Cloak of Purple, she took it and cut into Swathing Cloaths for her Child. At the same time she had a Calf born of a wonderful bigness, white, spotted with purple, and upon his Skin, on the one side, was the figure of a Crown; on the other, the word *Ave*, that is, *Hail*; a Salutation given to the Emperor. The before-mentioned *Callicrates Tyrius* produces many more Omens, which I shall omit, because I think them superfluous. When *Aurelian* was sent Ambassador into *Persia*, he was presented there with a piece of Plate of the like sort as the Kings of *Persia* are used to present to the *Roman* Emperors, and upon it was engraved the Sun, in the same form in which he is worshipped in that Temple, where his Mother was a Priestess. Together with this, the King of *Persia* gave him a noble Elephant, which *Aurelian* presented again to the Emperor his Master: These, to mention no more, were Omens of his future Grandeur.

*His Personage.*

He was handsome as to his Person, well made, tall, robust, with a good Grace, and a manly Mien; he eat and drank freely, rarely had to do with Women, extraordinary strict, a great Master of Military Discipline, and very desirous to be drawing the Sword. There were two *Aurelians* together in the Army, and both of them at the same time Tribunes. The other was taken Prisoner with the Emperor *Valerian* by the Persians. The Army for distinction gave this *Aurelian* the Nick-name of *Hand to the Sword*, because he was so quick at it upon all occasions, and he was known by this Name. He did several great Actions whilst he was but in a private Quality. He alone defeated and repulsed the *Sarmatae*, in an Irruption which they made into the Province of *Illyricum*, when he had with him no more than three hundred Garrison-Men. *Theoclius*, an Historian, says, that in the *Sarmatian War*, *Aurelian* with his own hand killed in one day eight and forty; and at several times in all, above nine hundred and fifty. Songs and Dances were made upon his Exploits, which were sung upon the Festival Days in publick by the Youth, to this purpose:

*A Thousand, a Thousand, a Thousand have we cut off; one Man hath killed a Thousand, a Thousand, a Thousand; let him live a Thousand, a Thousand, a Thousand Years, that hath killed a Thousand, a Thousand Enemies.*

*Whilst*

Whilst he was the Tribune of the sixth Legion, which was at *Mentz* in *Germany*, he gave the *Franks* such a blow, as they made their Excursions up and down *Gallia*, that he killed seven Hundred of them, and took three Hundred others Prisoners, whom he sold for Slaves. Then this Song was made of him.

*A Thousand Franks, a Thousand Sarmatians,  
have fallen by our Hand; a Thousand, a Thousand,  
a Thousand, a Thousand, a Thousand Persians,  
next, shall yield to our Command.*

He made himself to be so feared by the Soldiers under him, that after he had once with great severity corrected a Fault, none dared to commit it again. He punished the Adultery of a Soldier, that had lain with his Lord's Wife, in this unheard of manner. He caused two Trees to be forcibly bent downward, and to the Heads of them he tied the poor Man's Feet, and then on a sudden he let both the Trees fly up again, which tore him alive in Two, and part of him was left hanging by the one Tree, and part by the other: this Thing struck a great Terror into all.

*A thousand Franks to ransom a sword  
I would and I would garnish it with a  
plum.*

A Letter of *Aurelian* to his Lieutenant concerning the Discipline which he would have to be kept among the Soldiers, says thus.

**A**S you ever hope to be your self a Commander of a Legion; nay, as you desire but to preserve your own Life in Safety, bridle the Licentiousness of Soldiers. Let not a Man steal a Chicken, nor touch a Sheep, nor take away a Grape, nor waste the Corn, which is another's. Let no Man exact either Oyl, or Salt, or Firing, but be content with his allowance, and let him take his Prey upon the Enemy, and not force the Tears of the Subjects of the Roman Empire. Let all their Arms be kept clean and bright, and sharp; and their Shooes and Cloaths in good order, and let them keep Money in their Pockets, and not spend it all at the Sutlers. Let every Man have his Collar, his Bracelet, and his Ring, and look after his own Horse, and not sell his Beast's Provision from him, and let him take care in his turn of the Baggage. Let them all be ready to assist one another. Let the Physicians take nothing of them for their Cure when sick. Let them give nothing to the Soothsayers. Let them live virtuously in their Quarters, and he that creates Disturbances, let him be beaten.

Next follows a Letter of the Emperor *Valerian* concerning *Aurelian*. This Letter I lately

lately found in the *Ulpian Library*, amongst the publick Records, and I thought it proper to be taken as it is.

The Emperor Valerian to Antoninus Gallus the Consul.

YOU blame me in your kind Letter to me, for committing my Son Gallienus, rather to the care of Posthumius, than to Aurelian; because you think, that both the Boy and the Army would be the best under the latter, as the severer Person. But you will not long be of this mind, if you consider well, how great the Severity of Aurelian is. He bath too much of it. He is excessive. He is grievous, which does not agree so well with these present times. I protest before all the Gods, I was afraid, that if my Son had done any thing amiss, as Boys are naturally prone to do, he would have been too severe upon him for it, and no more have spared him than another.

There is another Letter of the Emperor Valerian, which is full of the Praises of Aurelian, and which I have met with amongst the Records of the Governour of the City of Rome. It is written upon the occasion of Aurelian's coming to Rome, to appoint his Salary during his stay there.

The

The Emperor Valerian to Cænonius  
Albinus the Governour of the City  
of Rome.

WE should be glad, out of our Love to every individual Person, who is faithful and zealous in the Service of the State, to allow them much greater Salaries than what their place demands; especially, when their Lives render commendable the Honour that they possess. Because there ought to be a Regard, I think, had to Merit, over and above the Profiss of a mere Commission. But the Necessities of the Publick make it so at present, that I can give to none out of the Stores of the Empire more than their Order and their Quality requires. Aurelian is a Man of great Capacity and Bravery, whom I have appointed to inspect and regulate all our Camps and Garrisons. My self, and the whole Empire, by the common Confession of the whole Army, is so much indebted to him, that scarce any Presents can be made worthy of him, or too great for his Merit. For is he not in all respects Illustrious, and to be compared to the Corvini, and the Scipio's of former times? He is the Deliverer of Illyricum. He is a Restorer of Gallia. He is a Commander deserving the Imitation of all the World. And yet I can add nothing to the acknowledgment which is due to the Services of so great a Person; besides, what the Condition

Condition of the publick Affairs, and the well-government thereof will permit me. You will therefore, dear Sir, take care to appoint for his use, during his abode at Rome, per diem, sixteen Loaves of the best Bread; forty Loaves of the Camp-bread; forty Quarts of Wine for the Table; a couple of Pullets; half a Pig; thirty Pounds of Pork; forty Pounds of Beef; one Quart of the best Oyl; one Quart of other Oyl; one Quart of Pickle; Herbs and Roots as much as he wants. And to distinguish him, however, in something extraordinary, you may supply him with Forage for his Horses, as long as he stays at Rome. To himself in Money towards his Expences, you shall give every Day two Antoninusses in Gold, fifty Philips in Silver, and a hundred Penies in Brass. The rest shall be supplied by the Officers of the Treasury.

These things may perhaps by some, be thought frivolous, and too light to be taken notice of here; but Curiosity, which neglects nothing, will be my excuse.

Aurelian, at several times commanded divers Armies; likewise he was Tribune successively to a great many Legions, and he was Lieutenant upon several occasions, to almost forty Commanders and Tribunes; that is, to command their Forces for them in their sickness or absence. He supplied the Command of Ulpian Crimitus in his sickness, who was one that derived himself from Trojan, and was really a very brave Man, and much like that Prince.

The Emperor Valerian to Cejonius  
Albinus the Gouverneur of the City  
of Rome.

WE should be glad, out of our Love to every individual Person, who is faithful and zealous in the Service of the State, to allow them much greater Salaries than what their place demands; especially, when their Lives render commendable the Honour that they possess. Because there ought to be a Regard, I think, had to Merit, over and above the Profits of a mere Commission. But the Necessities of the Publick make it so at present, that I can give to none out of the Stores of the Empire more than their Order and their Quality requires. Aurelian is a Man of great Capacity and Bravery, whom I have appointed to inspect and regulate all our Camps and Garrisons. My self, and the whole Empire, by the common Confession of the whole Army, is so much indebted to him, that scarce any Presents can be made worthy of him, or too great for his Merit. For is he not in all respects Illustrious, and to be compared to the Corvini, and the Scipio's of former times? He is the Deliverer of Illyricum. He is a Restorer of Gallia. He is a Commander deserving the Imitation of all the World. And yet I can add nothing to the acknowledgment which is due to the Services of so great a Person; besides, what the Condition

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Aurelian, at several times commanded divers Armies; likewise he was Tribune successively to a great many Legions, and he was Lieutenant upon several occasions, to almost forty Commanders and Tribunes; that is, to command their Forces for them in their sickness or absence. He supplied the Command of *Ulpianus Crinitus* in his sickness, who was one that derived himself from *Trajan*, and was really a very brave Man, and much like that Prince.

Prince. *Aurelian* and *Ulpian Crinitus* have their Pictures both together, set up in the Temple of the Sun. The Emperor *Valerian* designed to advance the latter to the degree of a *Cæsar*. In the place therefore of this Person, *Aurelian* headed his Army against the Enemy. He beat the Enemy and re-established the limits of the Empire, and took a great Booty. He enriched the Province of *Tbrace* with the Cattel, Horses, and Slaves that he took. He adorned the Palace of *Rome* with the Trophies of his Victory. He brought in five hundred Slaves, two thousand Cows, a thousand Horse, ten thousand Sheep, fifteen thousand Goats, into one place in the Country belonging to the Emperor *Valerian*. Upon which *Ulpian Crinitus* publickly thank'd *Valerian*, as he was in the Baths at *Byzantium*, for the Honour which his Majesty had done him, by giving him *Aurelian* to be his Lieutenant, and at the same time he resolved to adopt *Aurelian* to be his Son.

The Letter of the Emperor *Valerian*, wherein he substituted *Aurelian* in the place of *Ulpian Crinitus*, was this.

My dear *Aurelian* ;

**W**ere there any Person so agreeable to me as you, whom I could substitute to command in the place of *Ulpian Crinitus*, I might put his Virtues in competition with yours upon this occasion. But, do you undertake the War on the side

side of Nigeboli, that the Sickness of Crinitus may not create us a prejudice. I do not ask you to do great things, but what you can; the Army will be at your Command. You will have three hundred Iturean Archers; six hundred Armenians; one hundred and fifty Arabians; two hundred Saracens; four hundred Mesopotamians, Auxiliaries; together with these, you have the Third Legion, and eight hundred Horse in compleat Armour. You will be joyned by Hartomundus, Haldegastes, Hildemundus, and Cariovitus. The necessary Provisions for you are laid in by the Officers in all our Garrisons. You, in your great Prudence and Knowledge of War, will take care to Lodge your Men, Winter or Summer in places where they shall want nothing; and also to find out the Camp of the Enemy, and to inform yourself exactly of the Strength and Number of them; and to see that no waste be made of the Wine, Provisions, or Arms, in which consists the Force and Fortune of any War. By the help of God, I hope for as much Assistance from you, as if Trajan was living, the Publick would from him. Nor are you inferior to him, into whose Place and Trust I have chosen you. You may expect, that I shall appoint Ulpius Crinitus and you to be Consuls the next Year, from the 11th. of the Kalends of June, in the places of my Son and me. Your Charges shall be born out of the publick Treasury: For it is the fittest thing in the World, to ease the Circumstances of such Persons as you, who wholly spend themselves, not in seeking your own Advantage, but in the Service of the State.

Hence

Hence we see further, how great a Man *Aurelian* then was ; nor indeed does any one ascend the Empire in his Age, but who from his Youth, raises himself gradually towards it by the steps of Virtue.

The Letter concerning the Consulship of *Aurelian* was this.

*The Emperor Valerian unto Ælius Xifidius, the Keeper of the Treasury.*

**Y**OU shall give to *Aurelian*, whom I have made a Consul, towards his exhibition of the Games of the Cirque, because as great and as deserving a Man as he is in all Respects, he is poor, three hundred Antoninusses in Gold ; three thousand little Philips in Silver, and fifty thousand Sesterces in Brass ; ten Vests of fine wrought Stuff ; twenty Linen Vests of the Egyptian Work ; two Pair of the Cyprian Table-Cloths ; ten Pieces of African Tapestry ; ten Barbary Carpets ; a hundred Hogs, and a hundred Sheep. You shall make a publick Entertainment for the Senators, and the Roman Gentry ; and offer to the Gods, two greater and four lesser Sacrifices.

I have made some mention before of the Design of *Ulpian Crinitus* to adopt *Aurelian* to be his Son. I hope it will neither be improper nor tedious to insert, for the greater Honour

Honour of *Aurelian*, a more particular account of that Matter, according as I find it in the Ninth Book of the *Acts of Acholius*, who was Master of the Ceremonies to the Emperor *Valerian*.

This Ceremony was performed at the City of *Byzantium*, where the Emperor *Valerian* being seated upon a Throne in the Baths, and the Troops drawn up by him, and the Officers of the Court attending him, together with *Memmius Fuscus*, the Consul for the Year; *Bæbius Macer*, the Captain of the Guards; *Quintus Acarius*, the President of the *East*, waiting on the right Hand of him; and on the left, *Amulius Saturninus* the General of the Frontiers against the *Scythians*, *Murenlius* the Governour of *Egypt*; *Julius Trypbo*, the Commander on the Frontiers of the *East*; *Mæcius Brandusinus*, the General of the Provisions of the *East*; *Ulpianus Crinitus*, the General of *Illyricum* and *Tbrace*; and *Fulvianus Boius*, the General in *Rhaetia*. In this great Appearance the Emperor *Valerian* expressed himself to *Aurelian* thus.

Particular Honor  
done to  
him by  
*Valerian*.

*The whole Empire gives you thanks, Aurelian, for delivering it from the Power of the Goths. Through you, we abound with Booty; we abound in Honour, and all things, by which the Happiness of the Roman Name is increased. I give you therefore for the Noble Actions which you have done, four Mural Crowns, five other Crowns of those that are for entring the Enemies Works; two Naval Crowns, and two*

P                   Civick

Civick Crowns; ten Javelins; four parti-coloured Standards; four red ducal Vests; two Cloaks, such as are worn by the Proconsuls; one Consular Robe; one triumphal Vest; one triumphal Gown; a Mantle of State, and a Chair of Ivory; which last, is the Mark of the Dignity of a Consul, for so I appoint you to be this day; and I shall write to the Senate to send you the Ivory Staff and the Rods, which are the other Ensigns of that Dignity.

Aurelian, after his Majesty had thus spoke, approached to him and kissed his Hand, and returned his Thanks to his Majesty in the Words following,

I truly, may it please your most excellent Majesty, have therefore done and suffered all that hath been in my Power, and I have taken all the Pains I could to serve the States, on purpose that I might oblige it, and at the same time discharge a good Conscience; the Sense whereof, joyned with the Thanks of the State, is alone a Reward sufficient for me. But your Majesty hath done much more, I give your Majesty thanks for your Goodness, and I accept the Consulship at your Hands. The Gods grant, and particularly, our assured God the Sun, that the Senate may judge as kindly of me.

Then all the Company complemented the Emperor, and next Ulpian Crinitus stood up, and said:

May it please your Majesty,

As it was antiquitly a Custom amongst the best of our Fore-fathers, to adopt Persons of Worth and Bravery

Bravery to be their Sons ; thereby, either to continue their decaying Families, or to add a new Honour to them, by the means of such a worthy Alliance ; which hath particularly been done often in my Family, in the adoption of Ulpius Trajan, by Cocceius Nerva ; the adoption of Hadrian, by Trajan ; the adoption of Antoninus by Hadrian, and others since ; so it is likewise my desire at this time, to adopt Aurelian, to be my Son, of whom your Majesty in your Wisdom hath so much approved, that you have made him my Lieutenant, and put him in my absence, to command my Army. Your Majesty may therefore please to order it to pass into a Law, that Aurelian be the Heir of the Name, Goods, and all the Rights of what kind soever, of me Ulpius Crinitus, according as your Majesty hath been pleased to make him also a Consul with me.

He is adopted by  
Ulpius Crinitus.

The Emperor compleated *Crinitus* in return, and the Adoption of *Aurelian* was according to Custom ratified. What a certain Greek Author says, as I remember, that the Emperor commanded *Crinitus* to adopt *Aurelian*, because he was poor, I must leave to the Reader. I have said, that the Emperor bore the Charge, of the Games, with which *Aurelian* entertain'd the People, at his entrance into his Consulship; and I did it for this reason especially, to mark the Modesty of the Expences of those times, in comparison with the Expences of others since. For we have lately seen the Games presented in the Cirque by *Furius Placidus* upon his Consulship, in  
P 2 which

which the Jockies and the Coachmen have had Estates rather given them, than their proper Wages ; Cloaths of Silk, fine Linens, Horses; at which sober Men have been much troubled, because it looks as if the Riches of a Man, more than his Virtue, had made him a Consul. And perhaps many a one, who for his Virtue deserves to be a Consul, would be ruined by such an Expence. But those chaste times are past, and by a popular Ambition which reigns amongst us, we depart from them every day more and more. But this also I leave to the Reader.

*Aurelian*, raised by the Reputation of so many and so great Characters as these, appeared with so much lustre in the Reign of *Claudius*, that after his Death and the Death of his Brother *Quintillus*, he succeeded upon the Throne of the Empire. There is a great disagreement in this place in our Histories concerning the Death of *Aurelius*, with whom the Emperor *Gallienus* agreed to a Peace ; as whether he was killed by *Aureolan*, without, or with the Order and Consent of *Claudius*; and whether he was killed by *Aurelian*, after or before he came to the Empire ? For in all these Questions the Historians, and particularly the Greek, differ from one another. However, it is, we are very sure of this, that the Emperor *Claudius* committed the War against the *Scythians*, to the Care of none more than *Aurelian*. I will give you here the Letter of *Claudius* for that purpose.

The

The Emperor Flavius Claudius to  
Valerius Aurelian, wisheth Health.

OUR Affairs at this time require your accustomed Bravery. Be quick: Why should you delay? The whole Army is ordered to march under your Conduct. The Goths are to be attacked, and to be expelled the Country of Thrace. They lie a great many of them about the Mountains Hæmus and Rulla: They do much Mischief, being returned from the flight, to which you last saw them reduced. All the Forces of Thrace and Illyricum, and all that Frontier I place under your Hands. Now let us have a stroak of your wonted Gallantry. My Brother Quintillus will be one that will join you. I am taken up with other Affairs, so that I entrust this whole Matter to your Valour. I have sent you ten Horses, two Coats of Mail, and such things as it is fit you should be provided with against your Fight.

Aurelian fought, and so prosperously defeated the Enemy in several Battles, that he did great Service to the Empire by it; therefore after the Death of *Claudius*, he was by the Legions unanimously advanced to take his place. Under the same Reign, he fought also very bravely with the *Suevi*, and the *Sarmatae*, and he gained over those a most flourishing Victory.

He is declar'd Emperor by the Army.

*Aurelian* soon after he was elevated to the Empire, had a War with the *Marcomanni*, who out of *Germany* making a sudden Irruption into *Italy*, in which, by a mistake, he did not take care to front them immediately in the beginning, whilst he was preparing to charge them behind, they laid waste all the Country about *Milan*. However, the *Marcomanni* were overcome at last; but in the mean time their Ravages were a matter of great Confusion to all at *Rome*, where the People broke out into great Sedition, out of an apprehension that they should see the Empire torn into pieces again, as it was before in the time of *Gallienus*. The Books of the *Sibyls*, so well known for the publick Good done by them, were upon this occasion consulted; and it was found, that at certain places there should be Sacrifices used, to stop the Course of the *Barbarians*; in Virtue whereof, they would not have the Power to pass further up into the Country. This was done accordingly with all care; the *Barbarians* stopt upon it, and as afterwards they were roving up and down in disorder, *Aurelian* came upon them and slew them. I will give you the debate of the Senate at this time, concerning the inspecting the Books of the *Sibyls*.

The Marcomanni defeated.

Upon the third day of the Ides of *January*, the Senate being assembled, *Fulvius Sabinus* the *Prætor* of the City of *Rome* spoke thus to them.

Fathers

Fathers of the Senate,

I Am to acquaint you, that it is the suggestion of the Chief Priests, as well as it is the Order, by Letter, of the Emperor Aurelian, that the Books of the Sibyls, in which the Secrets of the Destinies are contained, be now inspected; in hopes thence to discover by the Holy Will of the Gods, a means of putting an end to this War. You know very well, that as often as any extraordinary case arises, it is the Custom always to Inspect those Books; nor have we been delivered from the Publick Evils, which have at any time beset us, but by following their Order, and by performing such Sacrifices, as we find to be appointed us there.

Then *Ulpian Silanus*, whose place it was to give his Opinion the first, stood up and said;

Fathers of the Senate,

I T is very Late, for us, at this day, to begin to consult about the Safety of the State; It is very late for us, now to Consult the Books of the Sibyls, when we know not what else to do; like some sick Persons, who send not for the Physician, but in the greatest extremity; to which yet it is never good to trust; because all Diseases are the best taken and obviated in the beginning. You may remember, Gentlemen, that I have often from this place told you, even then, when first the news came of an Irruption of the Marcomanni, that the Decrees of the Sibyls ought to be consulted;

sulted; and that we should serve our selves of the assistances of Apollo, and keep to the Precepts of the immortal Gods. But my Motion was rejected, and that too not without a great deal of reproach from some, who in flattery to Aurelian answered, that under the Conduct of so brave a Prince, there was no necessity of consulting the Gods; as if he did not himself revere the Gods, and hope for the success of his Arms from their immortal Powers. In short, you have heard his Letter, wherein he begs the Divine assistance, which it is never unworthy the greatest Man to do. Therefore let the Priests, with all Purity, Cleanness, and Sanctity, prepared as well in their Minds as Habits for so sacred a Work, immediately repair to the Temple; and with due Reverence peruse the Holy Books, and examine what is the eternal will of the Fates; and we, on our parts, shall not be wanting to perform the Sacrifices, and observe the Solemnity, which the Gods require of us.

The rest of the Senators in order, being askt their Opinions, they all, some one way, some another declared their Consent, that the Books of the Sibyls should be consulted, and of the Sibyls Consulted. the Act past for the Purpose. Then to the Capitol they went; the said Books were examined; some Verses out of them were pitched upon; then the City of Rome was Purged by Sacrifice; a Procession was made round the City, and the Suburbs; the Verses were Sung, and all the Ceremony whatever that was required, was accordingly performed.

Now

Now the Letter of *Aurelian* to the Senate, in which he put them upon the Consulting the same Books, was this.

I Admire, my good Fathers, that you have, so long hesitated about opening the Books of the Sibyls; as if it was a matter that was referred rather to a Congregation of Christians, who are the Enemies of our Religion and our Gods, than to Persons Zealous as you are for the Honour of the one and the other. I would desire you to set the Priests immediately and religiously about it; that with the solemn Ceremonies and Rites, which shall there appear to be appointed, you may assist your Prince, now labouring under great difficulties. Let the Books be inspected; and what things are therein required to be done, let them be done. For my part, I shall spare for no Costs. The Captives that I have of any Nation, and any of the Animals of the noblest kind, belonging to me, I freely offer for Sacrifices. It is no lessening to a Victory, to be assisted in it by the Gods. In the times of our Ancestors, divers Wars have been begun and ended in this manner. I have writ to the Keeper of the Exchequer to disburse, whatever the Charge is. You may command thence what Money you think fit; and I am glad to find, that the Coffers are well provided.

That which was the occasion of all this concern for inspecting the Books of the *Sibyls*, was; *Aurelian* had suffered a great defeat from the Enemy at *Piacenza*; and had it not been that after the examination of the said Books,

and

and the performance of the Sacrifices by them required, the Divine Aid interposed to Confound and Affright the Barbarians with Visions, Spectres, and Prodigies, which gave *Aurelian* at length the advantage over them, the Victory in this War might have been lost to the *Romans*, and even the Empire in danger to be so too. For the Barbarians, by the means of the Woods, and the Fastnesses, into which they threw themselves, were otherwise too subtil for us, and did so annoy us upon occasion, that we should not have reduced them, upon the single strength of our Arms.

*His extreme Severity.*

After the *Marcomannick* War was ended, *Aurelian* came to *Rome*; full of Anger and Revenge, as he was naturally Fierce of himself, for the Seditions, which had there been raised in his absence. Though he was otherwise a good Prince, he suffered his Passions to transport him beyond measure, and to punish some things Cruelly, which might have been treated with a gentler Hand. He not only put to death the Authors of those Seditions, but also some noble Senators; against whom appeared but one vile and wretched Witness; when the matter of the Crime objected, was of so slight a Nature, that a milder Prince would have contemned it. In fine, the fame of his Reign which had been hitherto great, and had justly gained him many Friends, was obscured and wounded by the marks of his excessive Severity. He began to be feared, rather than loved. Some said, they hated him; rather than wish'd his Prosperity; others said that he was

was indeed a good Physician, but his Medicines were the bitterest in the World. After these things therefore, fearing again the mischiefs might be revived, which happened in the time of *Gallienus*, he with the Advice of the Senate extended, and new fortified the Walls of the City of *Rome*. He did not then extend the Territories of the City without the Walls; but he did afterwards; because this was a privilege allowed to no Prince to do, but who by his Conquests had added to the Roman Empire; as did the Emperors *Augustus*, *Trajan*, *Nero*; under which last particularly the *Pontus*, *Poteroniacus*, and the *Cottian Alpes* were subjected to the Obedience of the Romans.

Having finished what concerned the security and state of the City, and of the Civil Affairs, he set out from thence upon an Expedition against the *Palmyreni* in *Syrja*; where the Lady *Zenobia*, in the Right of her two Sons, *Herennianus* and *Timolaus*, being Infants, and in Succession to *Odenatus* her Husband, Reigned as Queen of the East, and maintained the Revolt of those parts against the Empire. In his way, in the Countries of *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, he fought several considerable Battles with the Reliques of the *Gotbs*, and the Barbarians; of whom he slew five thousand on the other side of the *Danube*, with *Cannabades*, their Prince. He passed, by the way of *Byzantium*, over into *Bithynia*, in the *Lesser Asia*: which Province upon his arrival voluntarily cast off the Yoak of the *Palmyreni*, and

and yielded it self to him. Many, as well of his Expressions as Actions, are great and famous. It is not possible, nor would I be willing to recount them all here, because it would be tedious. But yet some few may be touched upon, which may serve to beget a better understanding of his Virtues and Manners. Coming to the City of *Tyana* in *Cappadocia*, which he found shut against him, he said in a Passion, .I will not leave a Dog in this place. This made his Soldiers storm it the more violently, in hopes of the Booty; till one *Heraclammon*, who was the Governor of it, afraid that he should be killed amongst the rest, and thinking that he had no other way to save himself, betrayed his Trust, and suffered the Town to be taken by Treachery. Now *Aurelian* did immediately two things, worthy of a Princely mind; in the one of which he shew'd an example of his Severity, and in the other, of Mercy. The first is, he put to death *Heraclammon* for betraying his Country. Then, when the Soldiers desired the total destruction of the Town, according to his saying, that he would not leave a Dog in it, by which they understood, that they should have all the Plunder of it; *It is true*, said he, *I have said I would not leave a Dog in this Town, and so kill all the Dogs*: but he saved the People, and forbade the Plunder; which was a great Action, and it was followed by as great a one of the Army: because they were as much pleased with the Wit of their Prince, as if he had given them really the Riches of the City.

*Examples  
of his Se-  
verity and  
Mercy.*

*City. Concerning Heraclammon, Aurelian writ  
this Letter.*

*The Emperor Aurelian to  
Mallius Chilo.*

I Have taken Tyana, and suffered the Man to be killed, by whose, as it were, good Office I did it. I could not love such a Traitor. I willingly let the Soldiers kill him: because how could he be faithful to me, who spared not to betray his own Country? He is the only one of all the Besieged, who hath been so used. I cannot deny but he was Rich. But yet I have given his Estate to his Children: that none shall pretend to say, that it was to get his Money I killed him.

The City of Tyana was taken in this manner. Heraclammon betrayed to Aurelian a private place, where there was a Natural rising of the Ground, by which he might mount the Walls undiscovered. Aurelian did so; and his Purple distinguishing him to be the Emperor to the Army without and the People within, and the People within seeing him upon the Walls, and concluding the Town was taken, as if the whole Army was with him, they were so surprised, that they said no more but yielded.

I ought not here to omit a thing, which is to the Honour of the memory of the Venerable Apollonius, who was a Native of the City of Tyana. Aurelian, it is said, was seriously

sometime thinking and speaking about destroying the place entirely by Fire and Sword. But as he was going to his Tent, that wise Man of so known Fame and Authority, an Antient Philosopher, and a true Friend of the Gods, *Apollonius Tyanaeus*, who is himself to be highly Celebrated as a God, appeared suddenly to him, in the Form, in which his Image is in the Temples at this day, and spoke to him these words: *Aurelian, Why should you think of Murdering my poor Countrymen? If you would Reign in Glory, abstain, Aurelian, from the blood of the Innocent. Aurelian be merciful, if you would Conquer and live your self.* Aurelian knew the Vifage of the Venerable Philosopher again, because he had seen it before in several Temples. He was very much struck at it, and immediately he returned to a better mind about his Treatment of the Town, and promised to erect a Temple to *Apollonius*, and to set up his Image and Statues. This account is what I have received from grave Men, and I have also often Read the same my self in the Books of the Ulpian Library; to which I give the more Credit; because I have a great respect for the Majesty of *Apollonius*: than whom, what Man hath there ever been more Holy, Venerable, Illustrious, and Divine? He raised the Dead to Life again. He wrought many things beyond the power of Mankind, and his Discourses were suitable to his Actions; which if any Person pleases to know more particularly, let him Read the Greek Books, that are written of his Life. My self, if

some

if I live, and if the favour of *Apollonius* will assist me in it, will give the World some short account at least of the Actions of so great a Person: not that they want the benefit of my Labour, but that things which are really to be admired, may be made universally known and famous.

After the taking of *Tyana*, *Aurelian* marched towards *Antioch*; proposing to all that submitted to him, Indemnity for what was past. At the Village of *Daphne*, which is near *Antioch*, he gave the Enemy a little Blow, and so came to that City. It is supposed, the Precepts of the Venerable *Apollonius* had made an impression upon him; for he used his Victory here with great Humanity and Clemency. The next Battel was a General one, and for no less than the Empire. It was fought at the City of *Emissa* in *Phoenicia*, against the Queen *Zenobia*, and *Zabdas* her General. *Aurelian's* Horse were spent, and ready to run; when some Divine Form suddenly appearing to them, and encouraging them on to the Charge, they took the Example of the Foot, who all the while stood firm, till at last they put both *Zenobia* and *Zabdas* to flight, and obtained a most accomplisht Victory. *Emissa* readily yielded to the Conqueror; who no sooner entered into it, but he repaired to the Temple of *Heliogabalus*, or the Sun, to acquit himself of his Vows and Devotions, according to his Duty. But as he was there, the same Divine Form appeared again to him which he had seen affilting him in the Battel. Wherefore he there founded *Zenobia's Army deafeated.*

founded Temples, and made great Oblations. He Founded also a Temple to the Sun at *Rome*, of extraordinary Magnificence, whereof we shall have an occasion to speak hereafter.

Then he bent his Course against the City of *Palmyra*, the Capitol of the Country of the People of the same name, where *Zenobia* resided; that with the taking of it, he might put an end to his Labours in this part of the World. The *Syrian* Robbers annoyed his Army often in his March, and did him much mischief. But in the Siege of *Palmyra*, his Person was so far in danger, that he received a slight Shot of an Arrow. And the hot Work that he met with, is very plainly confessed by himself, in a Letter to *Mucapor*, thus.

*T*Hose at *Rome* deride my Expedition, and I cry I make War against a Woman; as if I had to do with none but *Zenobia*, and that she opposed me upon her own Strength. But the case is the same, as if the War was with a Man; and Feminine Fear, and sense of her Demerits makes her besides so desperate, that she is by far the worst of Enemies. It cannot be expressed what Showers of Arrows, Darts, and Stones, she sends us; and how prepared she is for her defence here? There is no part of the Wall, that is not planted with two or three Batterers. She throws Fire at us out of her Engines. In fine, she Fights not like a Woman, but with the Audacity of a Man in Despair. However I trust, that the Gods, who

never have been wanting to our Endeavours, will still assist the Roman Empire.

At length *Aurelian*, fatigued and weary of so troublesome a Siege, sent a Letter into the Town to *Zenobia* to require her to surrender, and he promised her her life. The Letter was this.

*Aurelian*, the Emperor of the Roman World, and the Protector of the East, to *Zenobia*, and those in Arms with her.

THAT which I require you now to do by my Letter, you ought assuredly to have done of your own Motion. I order you to Surrender, and I promise you your Lives, with impunity: You *Zenobia*, and your Children, shall only be obliged to lead your Lives there, where I, with the advice of the most Noble Senate, shall place you. Your Jewels, Silver, Gold, Silks, Horses, and Camels, must be disposed of to the Exchequer at Rome. The People of this Country of Palmyra shall be preserved in their Rights.

*Zenobia* receiving this Letter, wrote him *Haughty* back an Answer, which was more *Haughty*, mind of and more Proud indeed than the Condition of *Zenobia*. Her Fortune required: But I suppose it might be to amuse him. Her Letter was this:

Q

*Zenobia*

Zenobia the Queen of the East, to  
the Emperor Aurelian.

NO Man ever, before you, desired what you do, by a Letter. Bravery is the way to effect whatever is to be done in War. You propose my Surrender; as if you can be ignorant, that the Queen Cleopatra chose her Death, rather than to live in whatever Quality under Augustus. The Succours of the Persians are on their March to us. We expect them daily. The Saracens are for us. The Armenians are for us. The Syrian Robbers have beaten your Army, Aurelian, already. What then will become of you, when that Force arrives, which is expected by us, from all parts? Doubtless you will change your Countenance, and lay aside that Pride, with which you now so absolutely Command me to Surrender, as of you were the Conqueror of the Universe.

Zenobia Dictated this Letter herself in the Syriack Language; Nicomachus says, that he Translated it out of that Language into the Greek; the other Letter of Aurelian was sent in the Greek.

Aurelian did not Blush when he read Zenobia's Letter; but he was Angry, and immediately ordered his Army and his Officers upon a General Assault. He left nothing undone to reduce her, that could be thought upon by a brave

a brave Man. He Intercepted the Succours, which were sent to her from the *Persians*. The *Saracens* and the *Armenian* Troops he Beat, and partly by his Address, and partly by the force of his Arms, he brought them over to his own side. After many Fights, with great difficulty, he overcame this most Potent Lady at last; who was making her escape upon Dromedaries into *Persia*, when *Aurelian* sent a Party of Horse after her, and took her Prisoner.

This Victory gave *Aurelian* the Possession of all the East. He had at once *Zenobia*, the *Persians*, the *Armenians*, and the *Saracens*, his Prisoners; in which he did not a little Pride himself. And then it was, that all those fine Vestments beset with Jewels, which we see in the Temple of the Sun at *Rome*, those Persian Banners with Dragons, those Persian Tiara's, and a sort of Purple so fine, that the like hath never been since seen in the Roman Empire, were all taken by *Aurelian*. You may remember, that there was in the Temple of the most excellent and most high *Jupiter*, in the Capitol, a little Cloak of so very fine a Purple, that when the Matrons and *Aurelian* himself in Person compared with it the Purples which he and they wore, it lookt with so Divine a Light, that theirs were but like Ashes to it. *Aurelian*, and afterwards the Emperors *Probus* and *Dioclesian*, especially the latter, with great care sent into *Persia* Dyers, on purpose to find out how this Purple was made. But they could not do it. It is an Indian Vermilion

*The Spots  
of Zeno-  
bia.*

lion, they say, that Dyes it, when it is well prepared.

But to the Purpose. Zenobia being taken, all the Army called for Justice upon her: *Aurelian* thought it unhandsome to kill a Woman. He put to death several that had been her Abettors in beginning, making, and continuing the War; but for her, he reserved her to adorn his Triumph, and to make her a Spectacle to the Eyes of the People of *Rome*. Amongst the rest, whom he killed, the Philosopher *Cassius Longinus* was much to be lamented. He had been *Zenobia's* Master, to teach her *Greek*: that which provoked *Aurelian* to cut him off, was, because he knew, that it was by his Counsel that *Zenobia* had dictated that haughty Letter in the *Syriack*, which hath been mentioned here above.

The Peace of the East being Established, *Aurelian* returned a Conqueror to *Europe*. He gained a Victory in his passage over the *Carpi*: for which the Senate in his absence would have given him the Title of *Carpicus*: but it being a word of an ill, and a diminutive sound, in comparison with those other of *Goticus*, *Sarmaticus*, *Armeniacus*, *Particus*, and *Adiabenicus*; which denoted him Conqueror of the *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, *Armenians*, *Partians*, and part of the *Affrians*; he rejected the Title of *Carpicus*; and immediately sent the Senate word, that they might as well call him *Carpiculus*, as *Carpicus*; for he liked the one no better than the other: *Carpiculus* is Latin for a sort of a Slipper.

It is rare, and a hard thing for the Syrians to keep their Faith. No sooner was *Aurelian* employed about the Affairs of *Europe*, but the *Palmyreni*, who were so very lately, and so well Beaten, broke out into another Rebellion. They killed *Sandarion*, whom he had left Governor of *Palmyra*, and six hundred Archers, that were in Garrison with him; designing to set up one *Achilleus*, a Kinsman of *Zenobia*, for the Empire anew. But *Aurelian* was not so engaged, but immediately upon the news he quitted *Europe*, and returned to *Palmyra* again; where he punished them, shall I say, as they deserved; or rather to an excess: How severely he used them, he confesses himself in this Letter.

The Palmyreni  
rebel, and  
are se-  
verely  
handled.

The Emperor *Aurelian* to Cera-  
nius Bassus.

WE have had enough of the Blood of the *Palmyreni*: you shall forbid the Soldiers to draw their Swords upon them more. We have not spared Women, nor Infants, nor the Aged, nor the Peasants. So few, as are left, will, I believe, take warning by such a general Correction. We must spare those, or to whom shall we leave the Town and Country to be Cultivated? The Temple of the Sun, which is in that Town, and which the Officers and others of the third Legion plundered, I would have to be restored to the same condition in which it was. You will have three

Q 3      hundred

bundred pound of Gold out of the Coffers of Zenobia, and the weight of 1800 pound of Silver, and amongst the Booty, the Jewels and Precious Stones of the Queen. Out of all these, therefore let the Temple be well adorned; in which you will do a most grateful service both to the Immortal Gods, and me; and my self will write to the Senate, to desire them to send a Priest, to Dedicate the said Temple.

This Letter shews how fully he had satiated his Cruelty upon them.

Securer now therefore of the State of the East, than ever, he returned the second time back to Europe; and with his accustomed Bravery he defeated all the Parties of his European Enemies, that came in his way. He was very active about the Affairs of Thrace, and the Publick Good, when one Firmus arose in Egypt; who, not setting himself up as an Emperor, pretended to make that Province rather a Free-State. *Aurelian* made no delay to oppose this evil. Nor did his wonted Success abandon him. For he presently recovered Egypt again,

*Gallia* continued as yet in its Revolt from the Empire, and in the Hands of *Tetricus*: which *Aurelian*, as he was naturally Fierce, and full of Designs, not being able with Patience to bear, he turned his Head to the side of the West: where *Tetricus* weary of Commanding a Vicious and an Insolent Army, yielded both himself, and his Army frankly to him.

Firmus  
guell'd.

Tetricus  
yields.

The

The Peace of the West did conclude *Aurelian* the entire Master of all the *Roman* World. Every part of it now was reduced to him; and so he took his way to the City of *Rome*, to Celebrate a Solemn Triumph, at once over *Zenobia* and *Tetricus*, that is, the East and the West.

It will not be amiss to know the manner of the Triumph of *Aurelian*; for it was a very Noble one. There were three Chariots of *Manner State*, worthy of the Magnificence of the *greatest Kings*. The first was the Chariot of *Odenatus*, curiously wrought and distinguish-  
*lians Tri-  
umpb.*  
ed with Silver, Gold, and Jewels. The next was a Chariot of the King of *Perisia* which was equally Fine. The third was *Zenobia's Chariot*, which she had made for herself, in hopes to make her Entrance into the City of *Rome* with: nor was she mistaken. For she did so; but it was in the Quality of a Captive, and both her Chariot and she were led in Triumph. There was a fourth Chariot drawn by four Stags, supposed to be the Chariot of the King of the *Goths*. In this Chariot, *Aurelian* Rode to the Capitol, to Sacrifice there those Stags, which together with the Chariot, when he took them, he had vowed to the most excellent and most mighty *Jupiter*. These Chariots were preceded by twenty Elephants, and two hundred tamed Wild Beasts of several kinds, out of the Countries of *Libya* and *Palestine*; all which *Aurelian* gave afterwards away amongst particular Persons. There were four Tygers. The Chamoises, Elks, and o-

ther such Beasts followed in order. There were eight hundred couple of Gladiators. Then followed the Captives of the Barbarian Nations ; as *Ethiopians*, *Arabians*, *Indians*, *Bardians*, *Georgians*, *Saracens*, *Persians* ; every one with their several Offerings : there were also *Gotbs*, *Alans*, *Roxolans*, *Sarmatians*, *Franks*, *Sueves*, *Vandals*, and *Germans* ; all which Captives were chained by the Hand to one another : together with whom were the chief, that were left alive, of the City of *Palmyra* ; and also a parcel of *Egyptians*, because of the late Rebellion in *Egypt*. There were ten Women Captives, led in the like manner, in this Procession : they were taken fighting in Men's Habit amongst the *Gotbs* ; when many others of them, at the same time were killed. The Inscription over them, as all these Nations had their several Names and Inscriptions put up, spoke them to be of the Race of the *Amazons*. Then came *Tetricus*, well-dressed in a Scarlet Robe, and a sort of a Pale-gold-coloured Tunick, and his Breeches of the Mode of the *Gauls*. By him marched his Son, whom he had declared Joynt-Emperor with him in *Gallia*. And next marched *Zenobia*. She was adorned with Jewels, and her Chains were of Gold, with Persons to bear them up. The Crowns of the Vanquished Nations in Gold, were displayed and carried in the Procession. Then marched the People of *Rome*, with all the Standards of the Colleges and the Camps, the Cuiraffiers, the Train of the Court, all the Army, and likewise the Senate ;

nate; but the Senate was a little concerned to see one of their own Body, which *Tetricus* was, led in Triumph. However it is, all together added much to the magnificence of the Pomp. It was almost three of the Clock before the Procession to the Capitol was over; and late before they went from thence to the Court. The next, and the other days following were spent in the pleasures of the Plays of the Stage, the Races of the Cirque, the Chases of Wild Beasts, the Fights of the Gladiators, and the Encounters or Fights of Gallies, in the Amphitheatre, represented sailing there as upon a Sea.

It is not, I think, to be omitted, what our Histories do often take notice of, and every one remembers, that when *Aurelian* set out upon the Oriental War against *Zenobia*, he promised to give the People, if he returned a Conqueror, Crowns of two pound weight. The People willingly understood him of Crowns of Gold. But *Aurelian* neither could, nor would be so liberal. He gave them every one Loaves of the whitest Bread of that weight, made in the form of Crowns; which he continued all his life, to them and their Children daily. He distributed also Portions of Pork amongst them, and this is done to this day.

*Aurelian* made several Laws, which were all Good and Wholesome. He augmented the Revenues of the Priests: he founded a Temple to the Sun; and set out Salaries for the support of the Priests that should serve it and for the Repairs of it, and for its other inferior Ministers.

After

After these things he went into *Gallia*, and raised the Siege of the City of *Ausburgb*, which the Barbarians had formed. From thence he returned, and came into *Illyricum*; where having provided himself with rather a Valiant, than a Numerous Army, he declared War against the *Persians*; over whom he had received a very notable Victory, at the same time that he overcame *Zenobia*, who was their Ally. But as he was upon his march to advance his Enterprise, at a Castle called *Cano-pbrurium*, which is in *Romania*, betwixt the Cities of *Heraclia* and *Byzantium*, through the Treachery of his Secretary, and by the Hand of *Mucapour*, he was killed.

*Death of  
Aurelian.*

The occasion of his Murder, and in what manner it was brought about, that a matter of that Moment may not be concealed, I will tell you in short. It cannot be denied, but that *Aurelian* was a Severe, Truculent, and a Sanguinary Prince. His Severity had transported him so far, as to kill his own Sisters Daughter, for no great nor sufficient cause neither; which was the first thing that brought an odium upon him amongst his Friends. As Fate would have it, it happened, that he had one *Mnestheus*, to be his Secretary; who, some say, was his late Slave, made Free. *Aurelian*, upon I know not what suspicion of something, had threatned this Man, which made him his Mortal Enemy. For knowing that his Master neither used to threaten to no purpose, nor to forgive very easily, where he once threatned, he writ down a List of the Names of

*The Plot  
upon him  
now laid.*

of such Persons, as he knew *Aurelian* had a real distaste against; and at the same time he intermixt it with the Names of others, of whom *Aurelian* never had the least suspicion, which should make him hate them, and amongst the rest, he added his own, to give the greater Credit to his concern for the common safety, in which himself was involved. When he had done this, he went and read the List to all those, whose names were there, and told them, that it was what he had privately found upon *Aurelian*, and it shews, that *Aurelian* was resolved to kill them all, and therefore, if they were Men, they ought to look to their Lives. The one party, who knew themselves to have contracted *Aurelian's* anger by what they had done, were spurred on by their fears to believe the matter and to prevent *Aurelian* if they could. The other, who had ever been kind and serviceable to him, and had deserved no such usage from him, were incensed at his supposed Ingratitude. So mingling their Complaints and Sorrows together, the one with the other, they fell upon him suddenly at the place before-mentioned upon the Road, and killed him.

This was the end of the Emperor *Aurelian*. A Prince, not properly so good, as his Reign was of use, and necessary to retrieve the Repose of the Empire. When the matter afterwards came to be discovered, how fraudulently the Conspiracy was procured to kill him, the Persons themselves that had agreed to it, built him a great Sepulchre, and Dedicated a  
Temple

Temple to him, and set up his Statues, at the place of his Death: And *Mneſtēm* was tied to a Stake, and given to be devoured by Wild Beasts; which is signified upon the place by Marble Statues of *Mneſtēm*, done in the Habit in which he was executed, and set up on each side of the Sepulchre of *Aurelian*.

The Senate regretted his Death very much, and the People of *Rome* more; who commonly said, that *Aurelian* was the Tutor of the Senate. He reigned six Years, wanting a few Days; and for his great Actions was deified.

*Not to omit any thing, that I meet within History that relates to him;* many say, that *Quintillus* the Brother of *Claudius*, who when the News came to him of the Death of *Claudius*, was in a Garrison in *Italy*, assumed the Empire, upon that News, to succeed his Brother. But when afterwards he found, that *Aurelian* was chosen Emperor by all the Army, and that when he harangued against the pretences of *Aurelian* to his own Soldiers, they did not much care to hear him, he cut his Veins himself, and died the Twentieth day of his Reign.

*Aurelian* did this Service to the whole Empire; that he purged away all professed Lewdness, Irreligion and wicked Arts. He cleared it of Factions. His Justice pursued the false Moniers or Coiners, who to defend themselves, joyned together in a Body, and made a fort of a War, under the encouragement of *Felicissimus* a Receiver, within the Walls of *Rome*. But

*Aurelian*

Death of  
Quintil-  
lus.

Aurelian reduced them with a high hand; it cost him the Lives of seven Thousand of his Soldiers to do it; upon which occasion he w<sup>r</sup>te this Letter to his Father (by Adoption) *Ulpianus Crinitus*, who was then the third time Consul.

### The Emperor Aurelian to his Father, *Ulpianus Crinitus.*

**A**S if it is in a manner my Fate, to meet with aggravations of difficulties in every thing that I enterprise, a Sedition within the Walls of Rome hath risen to a very sad War. The Moniers, or false Coiners, at the suggestion of Felicissimus, the last of Slaves, whom I made a Receiver of the Exchequer, pretended to rebel. They are suppressed, but with the loss of Seven Thousand of my Men killed by them; so that I may see, I have no Victory given me by the immortal Gods, which does not cost me dear.

Aurelian, tho' he had made Tetricus a subject of his Triumph, bestowed upon him afterwards the Government of the Province of *Lucania* in *Italy*, and continued his Son in the Senate. The Temple which he built to his particular Deity, the Sun, was most magnificent. He extended the Walls of the City of *Rome* so, that that they were almost fifty Miles in compass. He was a severe Enemy to Delators and false Accusers of the Innocent. The publick Regis- His publick Management.

sters of Proscriptions and Forfeitures to the Exchequer, he ordered for the common Security, to be burnt in the *Forum of Trajan*; and he granted an Act of Amnesty, for the past Offences committed against the State, the Example whereof was taken from that of the *Athenians*, which *Cicero* mentions in his *Philipicks*. The Magistrates of the Provinces who appeared to be guilty of Bribery and Extortion, he severely prosecuted, not with regard to them, or himself as Soldiers, but he laid upon them greater and more tormenting Punishments. He bestowed much Gold and Jewels upon the Temple of the Sun. Seeing the Provinces of *Illyricum* and *Mæsia* laid waste by the Incursions of the *Barbarians*, he withdrew the *Roman* Forces and Subjects out of *Dacia*, which *Trajan* had added to the Empire on the other side of the *Danube*; and relinquishing a Country that he despaired to keep, he planted the said Forces and People, in *Mæsia*; and he gave the Name of the *Aurelian Dacia*, to that Province that now divides betwixt the Upper and Lower *Mæsia*. It is said, that he was so cruel, as to charge several Senators with pretended Treasons and Conspiracies falsely, only to have an occasion to cut them off. Some add, that it was a Sister's Son, and not a Daughter, which he killed. Others, that he killed his Sister's Son and Daughter both.

The Senate and the Army, what with the Gravity of the one, and the prudent Submission of the other, made a great Difficulty of choosing a new Emperor to fill the Throne, vacant by

the

the Death of *Aurelian*. The Army referred the choice to the Senate, because they thought, that they ought to avoid those, who had been concerned in the Murder of so worthy a Prince. The Senate on the other hand referred the Choice to the Army, knowing that the Soldiers do not always take very well those Emperors, that the Senate puts upon them. This was disputed betwixt them three times, so that for six Months the Roman World was without an Emperor, and all Persons in the interim continued in their Governments and Offices, as they were before, excepting that the Senate made *Falconius Probus* the Proconsul of *Asia*, in the place of *Aurelius Fuscus*. It will not be unpleasant to see the Letter which the Army wrote to the Senate upon this subject ; it was this.

### The Valiant and Victorious Army, to the Senate and People of Rome.

**A**URELIAN our Emperor through the Fraud of one Man, and the surprizing Mistake of a mixture of others, good and bad that were drawn in by him, is killed. You will please, our good Lords and Fathers, to make Aurelian a God ; and to send us a Person out of your own Body, to be our Prince ; whom in your Judgments you shall think deserves to be so. For we,

concerning those that have either wilfully or ignorantly been led to commit this Fact, will not suffer any of them to reign over us.

The Senate met upon the third Day of the Nones of February, and being sat, *Aurelius Gordianus* the Consul motion'd them to consider this Letter, which was arrived from the Army. The Letter was read. The eldest Senator, who was to deliver his Opinion the first, was *Tacitus*, who spoke thus. The same who was afterwards by the Consent of all made the Successour to *Aurelian*.

Fathers of the Senate,

WELL had the immortal Gods consulted the Happiness of the World, had they made the Persons of good Men invulnerable; that such as meditate base Murder in their wicked Hearts, could have had no Power to hurt them. Then had we enjoyed our Emperor *Aurelian* longer, who was one of the greatest use to our State; which after the misfortunes of *Valerian*, and the Luxury of *Gallienus*; began to take breath again indeed under the Reign of *Claudius*; but it had been perfectly restored to its pristine forms by *Aurelian*, had he lived, because Victory every where waited upon his Arms. He repossessed us of *Gallia*; he delivered Italy from the Invasion of the *Marcomanni*; he rescued *Ausburgh* from the Barbarian Yoke; he recovered *Illyricum* and *Thrace* to the obedience of the Romans; he recovered the East to

our

our obedience, which was shamefully before oppressed and held against us by a Woman. The Persians, while yet insulting in the Death of Valerian, he vanquished, put them to flight, and enslaved them. The Saracens, the Blemmies, and Auxumitæ, the Bactrians, the Seres, the Georgians, the Albanians, the Armenians, and even the Indians adored him almost as a God upon Earth. The Capitol is enrich'd with his Presents, and the things which he gained from the Barbarian Nations. Fifteen Thousand Pound weight of Gold, of his Liberality, lies all in one Temple. All the Fanes in Rome shine by his Gifts. Wherefore, Gentlemen, may I not justly expostulate with the Gods, why they have permitted the Massacre of such a Prince; unless it is perhaps, that they would rather have him in their own Number? I for my part vote him a God, and I presume, that all you will do the same. But as for the Election of another Emperor, it is a Matter in my Opinion, to be referred back to the Army again. For unless it were certain that the Person elected by us will be by them accepted, it will both be dangerous to the elected, and bring an envy upon his Friends.

The Senate approved the Opinion of Tacitus. But when the Army did persist to send to them again and again upon the same subject, they came at last to an Act, which you will see in the Life of Tacitus, whereby they made Tacitus Emperor.

Aurelian left only a Daughter, of whose Posterity there are some surviving at Rome at

this Day. The late Proconsul of Cilicia, who is of the Name of *Aurelian*, and now lives sweetly in the Island of Sicily, a Senator of great worth, of an excellent Life, and the entire Master of himself, is her Grandson.

*The few  
good Em-  
perors of  
Rome.*

What shall I say now to observe, that out of so many Persons, that have sat upon the Throne of *Rome* from *Augustus* down to *Dio-clesian* and *Maximian*, there hath hitherto been so few, that have been good Princes? The good Princes were these; *Augustus*, *Flavius Vespasian*, *Titus*, *Cocceius Nerva*, *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, *Antoninus the Pious*, *Marcus Antoninus*, *Severus the African*, *Alexander Severus* the Son of *Mammæa*, *Claudius* and *Aurelian*. It is true, *Valerian* was another good Prince, but he was in all respects so unfortunate, that he ought to be reckoned apart. You see, Sir then, how short the Number of the good Princes is; so that it was well said by a Jester in the time of *Claudius*, that they might all be easily drawn within the Circle of a Ring. On the contrary, what a Series have we had of ill Princes! For not to mention the *Vitellii*, the *Ca-ligula's*, and the *Nero's* of former Ages, What do you say to the *Maximins*, the *Philips*, and that unsavory multitude, that dross, that came up afterwards? excepting only the *Decii*, whose Lives and Manners were comparable with those of the Antients.

It may be asked, what it is that debauches Princes, and makes them become so ill? And truly, my dear Friend, I will tell you. Licensiouines, in the first place; then the Plenty that

that surrounds them; then evil Counsellors, evil Guards, greedy Eunuchs, lewd or foolish Courtiers; nor can this last be denied; Ignorance in the Affairs of the Publick. I assure you, I have heard it from my Father, that the Emperor *Dioclesian* hath said, when he liv'd privately at *Salona*, after his resignation of the Empire, *That there is nothing more difficult than to Reign well.* For four or five Persons shall cabal together, to put upon the Prince, and tell him what is to be done; in the mean time, he who is shut up at home, penetrates not into the Truth, and is forced to know no more than they tell him; and so he makes Persons Magistrates and Officers, whom he ought to avoid, and turns others out, whom he ought to keep. In fine, as *Dioclesian* said, for these are also his words, *The Good, the Cautious, the Best Prince that is, is bought and sold.* Which I therefore remark, that you may please, Sir, to oblige, that there is therefore not any thing more difficult than the Art of Reigning well.

*Aurelian* is many times accounted neither amongst the ill, nor yet amongst the good Princes, because Clemency, which is the first Honour of a Prince was wanting to him. His excessive Fierceness was a thing which diminish'd his Character with the Emperor *Dioclesian*; who, as he blamed the alperity of *Maximinian*, so he often said of *Aurelian* in the hearing of *Verconius Herennianus*, who was Captain of the Guards to him, that *Aurelian* ought rather to have been continued a General, than

to have been made a Prince. He said also, according to *Asclepiodotus*, that *Aurelian* once consulted with the *Druide*s of *Gallia*, whether the Empire was to descend after him upon his Posteriority. Their Answer was, that the Posteriority of *Claudius* should carry the greatest Name of any in the Empire. And certainly the Emperor *Constantius* is one of the Blood of *Claudius*, whose Line will one day attain, I doubt not, to that Glory, which was fore-told by the *Druide*s. But I only mention this in the Life of *Aurelian*, because the Consultation and the Answer was made by, and to him. It may seem perhaps wonderful; as it is, I leave it to the Judgment of Posteriority.

*Farther  
Character  
of Aure-  
lian.*

*Aurelian* fixed the Tribute to be paid for ever by *Egypt* to the City of *Rome*, in Glass, Paper, Flax, Tow, Corn, Oyntments, and other Merchandizes. He had begun to make a Winter-Bath in the Quarter of the City, which is on the other side of the *Tyber*, because of their want of Water there. He had begun a great Work to bear his Name at the City of *Offia*, to the Sea; which was afterwards perfected and made into a publick Hall of Justice. He enriched his Friends with moderation; setting them above the miseries of Poverty, and yet below Envy. A Garment of Velvet he never either wore himself, or allowed, in the way of their Salaries to any of his Officers. When his own Lady desired to have one only Gown of Cloth of Gold and Purple, he denied it, and said, *Far be it that we should weigh Gold against Thread;* because

cause a Pound of silken Thred purple-dyed, was worth at that time a Pound of Gold. He had intended to forbid the Gilding of Rooms, and the working of Gold into Cloaths, and the Gilding of Leather, and the Gilding of Silver. He said, *There is a greater Stock of Gold in Nature, than there is of Silver; but the quantity of the Gold in passing into the several uses which it does, in Leaves and Thred, and Meltings, perishes more than the Silver, and is more lavished.* As for Vessels and Cups of all Gold, he gave leave that any might use them, who pleased. Gentlemen, he gave leave to have their Coaches silvered over, which before were only adorned with Brads and Ivory. He allowed the Gentlewomen to wear fine Purples, whereas before they went in flowered and mixt coloured Silks, or at the most, something that was only a little near to Purple. He was the first that suffered the Common Soldiers to have their Buttons gilt. He was the first that gave them Linens. For before they had only Russet Coats, which were adorned with some one, or two, or three, or some five Trimmings. He added the weight of an Ounce, upon the Fond of the Tribute Egypt; to the Dole at Rome; in which Charity, in the following Letter he is pleased to glory thus.

The Emperor Aurelian to Flavius Arabianus, the Commissioner of the Stores for the Publick Relief.

A Mongt other things, in which by the help of the Gods we have done good to the Roman State, nothing is to me a greater Pleasure and Honour, than that I have increased by the addition of an Ounce, the publick Dole of the City of Rome. To make which perpetual, I have accordingly appointed Officers in Egypt upon the Nile, and others at Rome, to see to the Importation of the Corn from Egypt. I have built up the Banks of the Tyber. I have digged the Channel deeper. I have offered my Vows to the Gods, and to Eternity. I have consecrated these things to the blessed Ceres. It is your Duty now, my good Arabianus, to take great care that my Orders be not issued in vain. For nothing to me can be more pleasant, than to see the People of Rome with their Bellies full, and their wants satisfied.

Together with the Oyl, Bread and Pork, which these People received by the Donations already established, Aurelian was for giving them Wine, for which he would have made a perpetual Fund by this means. The Country of Hetruria in Italy on the side of Aurelia, as far as to the Maritim Alps, hath large Grounds which

which are covered with Woods; but otherwise fruitful enough. *Aurelian* would have bought these incultivated Grounds of the Proprietors, as many as were willing to sell; and he would have employed upon them Numbers of Persons, that were Captives, who should plant the Mountains with Vines, and the Product, without paying any thing to the Exchequer, should go entirely to the use of the People of *Rome*. An Account was taken of the Expence that this Work would cost, and what quantity of Wine it would bring in. But either *Aurelian* was prevented by Death, before he could go on further with it; or, as some say, he was diverted again from it by the Captain of the Guards, who was against it, and said, *If we find the People of Rome Wine, it only remains next that we give them Geese and Chickens.* *Aurelian* in the time that he reigned, thrice caressed that Populace with Largeesses. He gave them Tunicks of several sorts, according to the Fashions of the Provinces from whence he had them. He gave them of the Linens of *Egypt*, and other parts of *Africa*. He was the first that gave them Handkerchiefs, which at the Publick Shews of the Cirque they express their Applauses and their Acclamations by, that is, shaking and tossing them over their Heads.

When he was at *Rome*, he did not love to live always in the Palace; he diverted himself much in the Gardens of *Salust*, or those of *Domitia*. The great Gallery which is in the Gardens of *Salust*, consisting of a Thousand Pillars, he adorned; and every day fatigued

Munifi-  
cence of  
*Aurelian.*

himself and his Horses there, for his Health, which was but indifferent. He caused his Slaves and Servants, when they had done ill, to be killed or beaten in his sight ; either because it kept up Discipline, and made the Punishment the more exemplary ; or, because he loved to feed his Eyes with the Cruelty. His Maid committing Adultery with one of his Slaves, he punished her with Death. Others of his Slaves, that committed things against the Laws, he delivered over to the Authority of the Laws, and the Publick Justice. He was for setting up a sort of a Senate of the Women, or rather for reviving a Privilege, which the Matrons antiently had of assembling themselves upon certain occasions. In which Assembly, the Priestesses, that is, such as were by the Law devoted to the Services of the Gods, had the preheminence. He forbade all Men, the wearing of Red, or Wax coloured, or White, or Green Shooes ; leaving it only to the Women to have such. He allowed the Senators their running Foot-men, and the same Livery as himself gave. Concubines of Women Free born, he forbade. He limited the Number of the Eunuchs, which the Senators bought, because they were risen to a great Price. He had no Vessel of Silver in his Household of above Thirty Pound weight. His Eating was generally of roasted Meat, and red Wine his Drinck. When he was sick, he never made use of a Physician, but cured himself chiefly by abstinence. He gave his Wife and his Daughter no better Rings than if he had been a private Person. He gave

gave his Slaves the same Cloaths, after he was Emperor, as he did before; excepting two old Men, *Antistius* and *Gallio*, whom he treated as Gentlemen, and who after his Death were made Free by the Authority of the Senate. He was seldom present at the Pleasure of the Cirque, but he was wonderfully delighted with Mimicks and Jesters. In fine, *Aurelian*, excepting in some domestick Seditions, had a very fortunate time. The People of *Rome* loved him. The Senate both loved him, and feared him.

The Senate confirmed him, and he was  
sworn in as a Senator.

THEATRICAL NOVICES

THE

A. Christi  
CCLXXVIII.

THE  
**Life and Reign**  
OF THE  
**EMPEROR**  
**TACITUS.**

B Y  
**FLAVIUS VOPISCUS.**

An Inter-  
regnum  
of six  
Months.

**A**fter *Aurelian*, there followed an *Interregnum* for six whole Months. Not occasioned by any Breach betwixt the Senate of *Rome* and the Army; but on the contrary, the Senate deferred the Election of the new Emperor to the Army, and the Army deferred it again to the Senate, and the dispute betwixt them was grateful and very handsome. There was, as our Eldest Annals inform us, formerly an *Interregnum* after the death of *Romulus*, in the Infant-State of the Empire of *Rome*.

Rome. But the differences betwixt that *Interregnum* and this, are many. For in the former, till such time as a fit Person was pitch'd upon to succeed the good *Romulus*, an *Interrex* was expressly from time to time appointed to Govern out of the Senate: which then consisting of one hundred Members, each Member, whose Health did not disable him, took it in his course to be the *Interrex* for three or four, or five days: So the whole Year and more, that the *Interregnum* lasted, passed under the Government of the Senators; who reigned one after another, all of them, from the first to the last, without distinction, because as they were all of equal Dignity, so they should all have an equal Taste of the Empire. Likewise during the Government of the Consuls and the Tribunes of the Soldiers, which last had the Authority, but only not the Name of Consuls, whenever it happened that the Government was vacant, an *Interrex* was appointed to Act, till such time as the Government was filled again. And though it may be objected to this, That once, at that time, for the space of four Years, we had no Persons in the Chairs of the Consuls, nor any Magistrates presiding in the Nature of them; yet I answer, that there were then Tribunes of the People, endowed with such a Power, that the Emperors who have enjoy'd the same Power since, have thought it one of the brightest Jewels in their Crown. Nor is it any where averred, that then there was no *Interrex* neither who acted besides these Tribunes. Because our most

Authentick

Authentick Histories say, that when afterwards the Consuls were re-continued, it was the *Interrex*, who by his Authority summoned the Assemblies of the People to do it; and therefore there was an *Interrex* then in the State. So that in this respect the State of *Rome* was never so vacant, as it was after the death of *Aurelian*: For here there was a perfect *Interregnum* without any *Interrex* for six Months; whereas before the State was never without an *Interrex*, so much as for two or three days.

This was a rare and a difficult Conjunction. It was no less remarkable, if we observe the perfect Concord of the Army, the profound Peace of the People, and the venerable Authority of the Senate in all that time. No Usurper started any where up. The whole World waited the Orders and the Judgment of the Senate, the Soldiers and the People of *Rome*: There were no Fears nor Jealousies of one Person or other. Every one kept to his Devoir, and which is one of the best Principles in the Conduct of humane Life, in reverence to himself. The Temperament of Men was admirable, and made the Delay it self happy and worthy to be for ever remembred; That those who seek after Crowns, may learn, that Empires ought not to be ravished, but to be deserved.

The occasion and manner of the Delay that was made, was thus. *Aurelian*, as the last-written Life shows, was killed by the Treason of a wicked Secretary, who, as Fictions and Falsities go a great way with Soldiers, if they are told them either in their anger, or many

many times in their drink (though it is always next to a madness to believe them) drew in a Party of the Great Men of the Army, by an Incredulity on their sides, into a Plot with him, to kill him. But all these Persons being return'd to a better Sentiment, and severely confus'd of their Error by the Army, it was begun to be consider'd, whom next to make Emperor. The Army, who had us'd to set up an Emperor in a trice, hated those who had had a hand in the Murder of *Aurelian*, and who at the same time were of the Top of their Body. So they sent to the Senate the Letter which you have in the Life preceding, wherein they desired that the Senate would, out of their House, make choice of a Person to be their Prince. But the Senate knew, that the Princes chosen by them, do not always please the Army, and they remitted the Choice to the Army again. This was repeated so often in reciprocal Complements from one to another, that it was six Months before the Senate came to the Election of *Tacitus*, w<sup>ch</sup> was in the manner as follows.

Upon the 7th. day of the Calends of October, the Senate being met in the *Curia Pompiliana*, *Velius Cornificius Gordianus* the Consul, spoke thus to them:

Fathers of the Senate, What we have often referred to you already, we must now do it again, to choose an Emperor; without whom, the Army cannot well subsist longer, and there is a Necessity which obliges us to it besides. For the Germans have

have broken into the Quarter on the side of the Rhine, and have possessed themselves there of Strong, Noble, Rich, and Powerful Cities. And though there is nothing mentioned of any Motions of the Persians, yet you may easily imagine, how light the Minds of the Syrians are, when rather than suffer our Government, which is so just, they have desired Women to Reign over them. What shall I say to you of Africa, of Illyricum, of Ægypt, and the Armies in all those Parts? How long do you think can they subsist without an Emperor? Wherefore, Gentlemen, go now about it, and Name one: Either the Army will Accept him whom you shall choose, or themselves will choose some other, if they refuse him.

Tacitus was the Chief and Prince of the Senate, and to give his Opinion the first. But as he was going to speak, all the Senate prevented him, and cried;

We Salute Tacitus, our Emperor. The Gods save you. We Choose you. We make you our Prince; We commit the Care of the State and of the World to you. Take the Empire, given you by the Authority of the Senate. Your Place, your Life, your good Intentions deserve it. The Prince of the Senate is very justly to be created the Sovereign. The Senator of the First Voice, is deservedly preferred to be Emperor. And who is better to Reign, than a Person of Gravity as you are? Who is better to Govern, than one that is so knowing as you? We think it is an Happiness and an Excellency in you to be Congratulated, That you have been long a Private Person. You who

who have gone through the Reigns of other Princes, know how to Reign your self. You know very well how to Command, who have observed and judged of the Government of others before you;

## Tacitus Answered:

I am astonished, Fathers of the Senate, That in the Place of the most Valiant Aurelian, you are willing to make such an Old Man Emperor. How am I fit, with these Limbs which you behold, to manage the Dart and the Spear, and to rattle it in Armour, and to be often riding in exact Form for an Example to the Soldiers. Scarce can I fulfil the Duties of the Senate; I am hardly able to do that, to which my particular Place confines me. Consider then more carefully, what an advanced Age you take out of the Chamber and the Shade, to send it into Frosts and Heats? Can you believe, that the Army will approve of an Old Man to be at the Head of them? Think upon some other, who will better answer the Expectations which you have of him, and let me be contented in a Private Life with this, That you have unanimously Loved me.

The Senate return'd him these Acclamations. Trajan came pretty Old to the Empire. This was repeated ten times. And Hadrian came Old to the Empire. This was repeated ten times. Antoninus the Pious, came an Old Man to the Empire. Repeated ten times.

You

You remember that of Virgil, En. 6.

— Incanque menta  
Regis Romani: Or, The Hoary Head of a  
King of the Romans. This was repeated ten  
times.

Who Governs better than a Man of Years?  
This was repeated ten times.

We make you an Emperor, not a Soldier. This  
was repeated twenty times.

Give the Word only, and the Soldiers will Fight  
it out. This was repeated thirty times.

You are Prudent, and you have a good Brother  
living with you. This was repeated ten times.

It is the Head that Governs, and not the Feet,  
said the Emperor Septimus Severus. This was  
repeated thirty times.

We choose you for your Parts of Mind, and not  
of Body. This was repeated twenty times.

The Gods save you, our Emperor Tacitus:

Then they went to take the Suffrages of  
each Senator in particular. The next to Tacitus  
was Mæcius Falconius Nicomachus, who was of  
the degree of a Consul. He being ask'd his  
Opinion, discoursed the Senate in these words:

Fathers of the Senate, This most Noble House  
hath ever rightly and prudently consulted the Good  
of the State. Nor is there any Nation upon the  
Earth, from whom one ought to expect a greater  
flare of solid Wisdom, than from you. But yet I  
must say, That of all the Instances of your Wisdom,  
there never was a Determination pass'd by you,  
more Grave and more Judicious, than what hath  
been

been done in this present Assembly. We have chosen a Person of an advanced Age to be our Prince, and one who may consult the Good of us all as a Father. Nothing from him that is immature, that is unadvised, that is ill, is to be feared. We may promise our selves a Reign of all Sobriety, all Gravity, and as the State would in a manner have it. For he knows, what a Prince he hath always wished to himself to have; and he cannot give us a different one in his own Person, from what he hath desired to find in another. Certainly if we will reflect upon those Prodigies of ill Princes of the Antient Times, I mean the Nero's, the Heliogabalus's, and the Commodus's, it will appear, that their Crimes were not more the Vices of the Men, than the Vices of their Age. The Gods defend us from having Boys to be our Sovereigns, and Children to be called the Fathers of our Country; who must have Masters to hold their Hands when they Sign their Orders, and will be invited to make Persons Consuls, by the Sugar-plumbs and the Cakes, and every Childish Pleasure that is given them. What Reason, I pray, is there to have an Emperor, who does not know how to take the care of his Reputation? who does not understand what a State is; that fears his Educator, is Commanded by his Nurse, and lies under the Magisterial Lash and Terror of the Hands of his Master? What Consuls, what Commanders, what Magistrates is he like to give us, when as to the Lives, Merits, Ages, Families and Actions of the Persons whom he prefers, truly he understands nothing at all of them? But why am I here drawn to bestow, Gentlemen, so many

words upon this subject? Let us rather Congratulate the choice, which we have made of a Prince, who is a Man of Years, than to iterate those things that have been beyond measure deplorable to the Persons that have suffered under them. I give therefore my repeated Thanks to the Immortal Gods for this Choice. I offer the same likewise in the Name of the whole State. And to you, Tacitus, our Emperor, I turn my self to beg of you, to beseech you, to intreat you, generously in the behalf of our Common Country, that if it shall be the Will of the Fates that you die whilst your own Sons are yet but young, you would not make those Children Heirs, after you, of the Roman Empire; nor in such a nature leave this State, this Senate, and the People of Rome, as if the first was no more than your Villa, and we all your Tenants and your Slaves. Consider very well, and imitate the Examples of Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian. It is a great honour in a dying Prince, to love his Country more than his Issue.

Tacitus was extreamly moved, and the whole Senate struck with this Speech; and presently they cryed, *We All, All, say the same;* and so the House rose. They went from thence unto the Field of Mars: where Tacitus having placed himself upon the Tribunal, *Ælius Cæstianus* the Governour of the City, Spoke thus to a General Assembly, there met, of all the People:

Gentlemen-Soldiers, and you the good Citizens and Commons of Rome; You have here the Prince, whom by the consent of all the Roman Armies,

the

the Senate hath made choice of to fill the Throne. The most Noble Tacitus, I say; who, as he hath hererto assisted by his Suffrages to the good of the Senate, so he is now chosen to do the same by his Command and Consultations.

The People cryed, All Happiness to the Emperor Tacitus. The Gods save your Majesty, and the like, as usual.

It is not here to be omitted, what several have writ, That *Tacitus* was in his absence, and whilst he was in the *Campagna*, nam'd to be Emperor; which I cannot deny to be in some measure true. For as soon as the Rumour had broken out, that he was the Person intended to be Elected, he retired from the Town, and went and kept himself two Months at *Bajæ*. But they fetched him from thence again, and he was present at this Act of the Senate, as altogether a private Person, and really did decline his Elevation. For that no body may think, that I have rashly given Credit to the Testimony of any either Greek or Latin Writer as to this Matter, there is in the *Ulpian Library* in the Sixth Apartment, a Book in Tables of Ivory, in which this Act of the Senate is registered at large, subscribed by *Tacitus* himself in his own hand. It was a long time, a Custom to Register such Acts, as concerned the Crown, upon Tables of Ivory.

*His unwillingness to assume the Empire.*

From the Assembly of the People, *Tacitus* next went to the Camp of the Guards; where having taken his Place upon a High Tribunal, *Mæsus Gallicanus* the Captain of the Guards, directed himself to the Soldiers in these words:

*My very good Fellow-Soldiers, The Senate  
hath given you the Prince whom you desired. That  
most Noble House hath readily comply'd with the  
Will of the Camp. It is not for me to say more  
to you, in the presence of the Emperor himself.  
Therefore bear him, who is our Master, attentively,  
whilst he speaks to you.*

Then Tacitus spoke thus:

*When Trajan came to the Empire, it is true,  
he was pretty well in Years, and he was appointed  
by only one Person neither. But as for my self,  
in the first place, you my excellent Fellow-Soldiers,  
who know what Princes you do approve of, and  
in the next, the most Honourable the Senate hath  
adjudged me to this Place. It shall be my care,  
I will make it my endeavour and my business, to  
furnish you, if not with great Achievements, yet  
at least with Counsels worthy of you and your  
Emperor.*

He promised them a Bounty and their Pay,  
according to Custom; and the first Harangue  
which he made afterwards to the Senate, was  
this:

*Fathers of the Senate, So let me ever in such  
a manner Govern the Empire, as that I may ap-  
pear to owe my Election to you, by whose Advice  
and Authority I have resolved to do all things. You  
will therefore please to Command and to Enjoin  
me, what you think to be for the Common good of  
your*

your selves, the Army, and the People of Rome. He proceeded in the same Speech to tell them, That he resolved to set up a Statue of *Aurelian* in Gold in the Capitol, with others of Silver, in the House of the Senate, in the Temple of the *Sun*, and in the *Forum of Trajan*. These latter were accordingly Dedicated; but that of Gold was not. In the same Speech he provided, That if any Person publickly or privately adulterated Silver with Brass, or Gold with Silver, or Brass with Lead, it should be Capital, and loss of Estate. Also, that Slaves should not be Witnesses against the Lives of their Masters; no, not in Cases of Treason. He obliged all Persons to have Pictures of *Aurelian*. He order'd a Temple to be built, where they should set up the Statues of such of the Deified Emperors as Reigned well; and offer Sacrifices to them, upon their several Anniversaries, the Birth-day of the City of *Rome*, and the Calends of *January*. In the same Speech, he desired the Consulship for his Brother *Florianus*; but the Senate could not grant it; because all the Consuls, Ordinary and Extraordinary, that is, the Consuls for the whole Year and the Consuls for every two Months had been already appointed by the Senate. *Tacitus* was much pleased with the liberty which the Senate took to deny his Brother the Consulship, though himself had asked it; and said, *The Senate knows whom they have made their Prince*.

He turn'd his Estate, which was worth seven Millions of Crowns, over into the Exchequer; and the ready Money that he had

His public  
Acts  
and Or-  
ders.

by him, he applied to the Pay of the Soldiers. He wore the same Cloaths as he did when he was a Private Man. He put down the Publick Bawdy-houses within the City of *Rome*; but this could not hold long. He order'd all the Baths to be shut up before Candle-light, for fear of Disturbances being committed in them in the Night. He acknowledg'd *Corn. Tacitus*, the *Roman* Historian, as his Relation, and commanded his Book to be set up in all the Libraries; and for the more careful preservation of it to Posterity, he order'd it every Year to be Copied over Ten times, and the Copies to be repos'd in the Libraries and in the Cabinets of the Ingenious. He forbud all Men the wearing of Velvet. He pulled down his late Dwelling-House, and order'd a Publick Bath to be built in its place, at his proper expence. He gave a hundred Columns of the *Numidian* Marble, of three and twenty foot each, to the City of *Ostia*. The Possession which he had in *Mauritania*, he Assigned to the Repairs of the Capitol. His Table Plate of Silver, which he had used in his private Life, he dedicated to the services of the Feasts, made in the Temples. He granted an Enfranchisement to all his Slaves that he had at *Rome*, of both Sexes, under the Number of a Hundred; but no more, because he would not exceed the stint of the *Caninian* Law. He

*His mode-* lived a very sober Life; never in a whole day *ate Diet.* drank a Quart of Wine, and many times not a Pint. One Pullet, a Swine's Cheek, and Eggs, sufficed for his Dinner, with an abundance of Herbs,

Herbs, and especially Lettuces, in which he passionately indulged himself ; because he said, that that was a profuseness which purchased him Sleep. He loved the bitterer Herbs ; seldom Bathed, which I believe made him the stronger in his Old Age : Delighted extraordinarily in the curious-wrought Glasses, and the several sorts thereof, that are made in *Egypt*. His Breakfast was never any thing, but a piece of dry Bread seasoned with Salt, and the like. He was a great Master in Architecture. He loved fine Marble, and stately Buildings, and Hunting. In fine, his Table was Coarse, and presented you with no Rarities : Not with a Pheasant, unless it was upon the Birth-day of himself or some of his Relations, and upon extraordinary Holidays. The Sacrifices, which he had offered in the Temples, he always re-demanded home, and order'd them to be eaten by his Family. He suffered his Wife to wear no Jewels : He forbade all the wearing of any Embroidery in Gold : For it was he, who had advised *Aurelian* to forbid the same, and to forbid the Gilding of Rooms, and the Gilding of Leather. It would be tedious to particularize in every thing concerning him, especially after *Suetonius Optatianus*, who hath written his Life at large. If any Person be so curious to know more, I refer him thither. As Old as he was, he read the least-written Hand to a Wonder ; and he never intermitted a Night, but he either read or writ something, excepting the day after the Kalends of a Month, which he look'd upon as Unfortunate.

The great Joy of the Senate, to be re-possessed again of the Right of the Choice of the Emperor, was such as I cannot forbear to mention, nor is it scarce ever to be forgotten. They order'd Publick Proceffions to be made upon it, and every one promised to offer a Hecatomb: They writ of it to their Friends, and not only to their Friends, but to Strangers abroad; and into the Provinces, for all their Allies and all Nations to know, that *Rome* had now recovered its Antient State, and now the Senate chose the Emperor, and Reigned in a manner with him; and made the Laws; and the Kings of the *Barbarians* were to supplicate to the Senate, and War and Peace was to be Treated by the Authority of the Senate. Some of these sort of Letters, for the greater satisfaction, I will give you here, as follows:

The most Noble Senate of *Rome* to  
the Magistracy of *Carthage*, sendeth  
Greeting.

**T**HE Right of Conferring the Empire, and of Nominating and appointing our Prince, which we pray, that it may ever be Good, Happy, Fortunate and Wholesome to the Senate and the whole Dominion of *Rome*, is again returned to us. To us therefore direct the Reports, which you make of things of great moment. All Appeals arising from the Proconsuls, and other the ordinary Magistrates, are to be made to the Gouvernor of the City

of Rome: Herein we believe, that also your Honourable Body hath regained its Antient Dignity: For this is the prime Order of things, which by being observed in its proper force, will preserve all the rest in their Rights.

## The most Noble Senate of Rome to the Council of the City of Trier.

**A**S you are and always have been a Free People, we do not doubt, but you are Happy. The Authority of Creating the Emperor is returned to the Senate: Together with which it is Decreed, that all Appeals shall be made to the Governour of the City of Rome.

In the same manner, they writ to the Cities of Antiocb, Aquileia, Milan, Alexandria, Thessalonica, Corintb, and Athens: These were the Publick Letters. The following are Private ones, from particular Senators to their Friends.

### *Autronius Tiberianus to Autronius Justus, his Father, wisheth Health.*

My Good Father,

**N**OW it is for you to come to be present, and give your Suffrage in the Senate; its Authority being encreased to the degree, of which it was in the former Times. We now make our Princes, Name and Constitute our Emperors: Therefore pray,

pray be careful to recover your Health and come, and bear a part with the Senate in its Antient Glory. The Right of Creating the Proconsuls, and ordering the Proconsular Provinces, is remitted to us; and the Appeals of all Magistrates and Officers are returned into the hands of the Gouvernour of the City of Rome.

*of some 10 stanzas follow from the  
beginning of the letter*

*Claudius Capellianus to Cereius Mecianus,  
his Uncle, wisheth Health.*

**W**HAT we have always so much wished for, we have now gained, good Sir. The Senate is returned to its Antient State. We make our Princes, and dispose of the Governments of the Proconsular Provinces. Thanks to the Roman Army. They have shewn themselves truly Romans, and have restored to us the Power, which hath been ever our due. Leave Baja, and Pozzuoli, and your Retreat there. Come to the Town, come to the Senate; Rome Flourishes, and so does the whole State. We now appoint our Emperors. We make our Princes. We, who have begun to make them, can disallow them too. A word to the Wise is enough.

It would be too long to adjoyn all the Letters of this kind, which I have seen and read. I only say this, that all the Senators were so elated with Joy for the return of their Antient Power, that in their Houses they all slew their Sacrifices, and exposed their Images, and cloathed themselves in White, and Feasted, as if

if they thought, that the days of their happy Forefathers were revived upon them.

All the Murderers of *Aurelius*, as well the better, as the worse, after *Tacitus* was settled in the Empire, he made it his business to put to death; notwithstanding the baseness of that Murder had been already revenged in the Execution of *Mnestheus*, the chief contriver of it. The *Barbarians* on the side of the Lake *Mæotis*, in great numbers made an Eruption. But *Tacitus* partly by force, and other means, obliged them to retire.

In fine, the chief Glory of the Reign of *Tacitus* was in the manner of his Elevation. For the time that he lived afterwards being so short, what liberty had he for any thing that is Great? So that what *Cicero* lays, *That it is more for our Honour, to have it told, how a Man hath managed a Consulship, than how he came by it*, it takes no place here. *Tacitus* dyed in the sixth Month of his Reign, some say of a Sickness; some, that he was killed by the Soldiers. It is certain, that he was oppressed with Factions, and this work'd much upon his Mind and Spirits.

He was both Born, and made Emperor in the Month of *September*: For which reason, he had a fancy to change the Name of that Month to his own. His Brother *Florianus* succeeded him.

He scarce gave the People of *Rome* a Largeſſ in all his six Months. His Picture is drawn in five ſeveral Dresses, upon a Table in the House of the *Quintilii*; in a Gown, in a Veft, in Armour,

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in a Cloak, and in a Hunting Habit. The Presages of his Reign were these. In the Temple of *Sylvanus*, one in a Fit of Frenzy, in which the Priests delivered their Oracles, stretching out his Arms, cryed with all his force, *The Omens of Purple of Tacitus!* *The Purple of Tacitus!* seven times. A Vine, which used to bring forth white Grapes, the Year that he came to the Empire, began to bring forth Purple-colour'd Grapes: several other such things changed to that Colour. The Presages of his Death were, That his Father's Sepulchre flew open of it self; his Mother's Ghost appeared in the day-time, both to him and to *Florianus*, just as if she was Living. All the Gods in the Oratory of his House, whether by an Earthquake or some other accident, fell down: An Image of *Apollo*, which he and *Florianus* Worshipped, was found laid upon the Bed, without any hand to put it there known. These are things that a great many mention: But I conclude this Life.

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THE

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THE  
EMPEROR  
FLORIANUS.

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By FLAVIUS VOPISCUS.

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**T**here is but little to be said of this Prince more, than that being the Brother of the Emperor *Tacitus*, he after his death seized upon the Empire, not by the Authority of the Senate, but of his own Motion, as if the Empire was to go to him by Inheritance: though at the same time he knew, that his Brother was Conjured in the Senate, that when he dyed, he should not bequeath the Empire, no, not to his own Children.

*Florianus* had scarce held it two Months, but *Florianus* he was killed at the City of *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, slain by his Soldiers; hearing that *Probus* was set up, and that all the Army had declared for him. Indeed *Probus* was so great a Man in the matter

A.D. 250  
CEZARIAE

ter of War, that as the Army had chose him, so the Senate wished for him, and the People of *Rome* made open Acclamations to have him.

*Florianus*, though he had otherwise much in him of the Temper of his Brother, was very different from him in this Ambition, and this Thirst for the Empire. He was profuse besides, which his Thrifty Brother blamed in him. They both together reigned so short a time, that they look almost like two Interrexes, acting betwixt the Reigns of *Aurelian* and *Probus*. Their Statues were set up at *Terni*, in *Ombria*, in Marble, thirty Foot high; and likewise their Sepulehres did sometime stand there upon their own Grounds; but they were afterwards struck down with Thunder and Lightning, and shattered to pieces.

*I* come in the next place to *Probus*: a Prince, Conspicuous at home and abroad; and in whom are united all those great Excellencies, which *Aurelian*, *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, the *Antonini*, *Alexander Severus*, and *Claudius*, divided amongst them. He came to the Empire with the concurrent Judgment of all Men of goodness. He governed it most happily. He extinguished the Barbarian Nations in their Incursions, together with divers Usurpers who would have set themselves up in his time. He was worthy of his Name: which the People would have imposed upon him, if it had not been his own by his Birth. Several say he was promised to the World in the Books of the *Sibyls*. Had he longer lived, he had left

no

no Barbarians on the Earth. This Task of so great a Prince I give you here, left as we are dayly, hourly, and every moment subject to the stroak of Fate, I may dye, before I can present you with his whole life: which I shall the less care now, if I do; because I have satisfied my Ambition, and my great Desire, thus far, to honour his Memory.

# МЕДПЯТЫЙ

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## BY PRACTICING OBSERVATION

## THE

*A. Christi  
CCLXXIX.*

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THE  
Life and Reign  
OF THE  
EMPEROR  
*P R O B U S.*

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By FLAVIUS VOPISCUS.

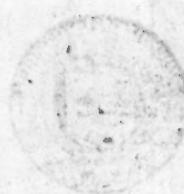
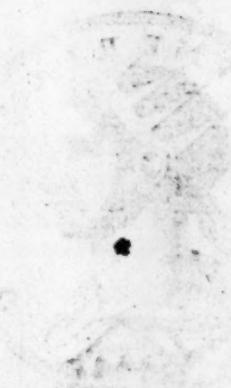
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**I**T is very true, what the Historians *Sallust*, *Cato*, and *Gellius* have sometime said; that the Praises of all Men are altogether such, and so raised, as those please, who describe their Actions to the World. Therefore *Alexander the Great of Macedon*, when he came one day, and saw the Sepulchre of *Achilles*, complained and said, *Happy Youth, who hast such a Herald to Proclaim thee!* Meaning *Homer*, who hath set off his Virtues;

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and formed his Character, with the utmost force of his Will. And who, at this time had ever known of the glory of *Pompey* the Great, and his three Triumphs for the War of the Pyrates, the War of *Sertorius*, and the War of *Mithridates*, and many other Actions which he did, that ennobled him, if *Tully* and *Livy* had not been his Historians to Record his Fame? The *Scipio's*, *Africanus*, *Nasica*, and all of that Noble Name, had been laid under a perpetual darkness, and for ever covered with oblivion, but for the Historians that have arisen to commend them. It would be tedious, neither need I mention all the Examples, that might be brought of this Nature, which every ones own observation will furnish him with. You will rather ask me perhaps, my dear *Celsus*, why do I take notice of this here? It is truly, because I see here a Prince, who though the East, West, North and South obeyed his Empire, and all the parts of the World were reduced into an entire repose by him; and though neither the Punick Wars, nor *Gallia*, nor *Pontus*, nor *Spain* have produced his equal, yet his History being unfortunately perished, he is in a manner unknown for want of Writers to perpetuate him. This however I am not willing to see, without contributing my Service to redrefs it; and therefore having to my power, as I was desired, finished the Life of *Aurelian*, and to that added those others of *Tacitus* and *Florianus*, I shall not be silent upon the Actions of so great a Prince as *Probus*; and if my life serves me, I

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will also carry on the History, as far as to *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*: not that I pretend to Eloquence, but only matter of Fact, which I cannot suffer to perish. The Books that I make use of to this purpose, that I may not in any thing appear to impose upon a friendship which is so dear to me; Sir, as yours, are those especially in the Library of *Trajan*, which is lodged at present in the Baths of *Dioclesian*, and the *Tiberian* Library. Together with which, I have consulted the Registers of the Scribes of the Porphyry Gallery, and the Acts of the People and the Senate. And because in the Collecting the History of so great a Prince, the Journal of *Turdulus Gallicanus* hath very much assisted me, I ought not to be silent of the obligation which I have to the friendship of that very good and worthy Person. All therefore that I would declare upon the whole, is this; that it is the matter of Fact only which I write; which if any one pleases to set out in a Higher, and a more Eloquent Style afterwards, he is welcome. For it hath not been my design to imitate *Sallust*, *Livy*, *Tacitus*, *Trogus Pompeius*, or any of those most Eloquent Historians; but *Marius Maximus*, *Suetonius Tranquillus*, *Fabius Marcellinus*, *Gargilius Martial*, *Julius Capitolinus*, *Aelius Lampridius*, and others who have written upon these sort of things, not to say, so Elocutely, as with a great deal of Truth. For it is my Curiosity to bring to light the Truth of many unknown and hidden matters concerning our Emperors; incited by your example, who the more you know,

know, the more still you desire to know of them.

Without further Preface then, this great and famous Prince *Probus*, who hath scarce his equal, in the *Roman History*, was born at the City of *Sirmij in Sclavonia*, or the *Lower Pan-nonia*. His Father was not of so good Quality as his Mother was. His Estate was indifferent; Affinity not great; however as well in his private Life, as after he was Emperor, he made his Noble Actions speak for him. Some say, his Father's name was *Maximus*; who after he had served very well in the Office of a Centurion; rise to be a Tribune, and died in *Egypt*, leaving a Wife, a Daughter, and this Son. There is one Greek Author, who says, that *Probus* was a Relation of the Emperor *Claudius*, who was a most Excellent and most Noble Prince: which may perhaps be the more Credited, because I find in the Journal of *Turdulus Gallicanus*, that after his death he was buried by *Claudia*, who was the Daughter of *Crispus*, who was the Brother of *Claudius*. But I leave this to the Reader.

*Probus* signalized himself so in his Youth, and was so agreeable in his Person and Manners, that the Emperor *Valerian* early conferred upon him a Legion, when he was in a manner Beardless. The same Emperor in a Letter to *Gallienus*, proposes him to the imitation of all the Youth: by which, by the way, one may take notice, that no Man becomes very great in his Age, but who lays down a good Foundation for it in his first years; and

*Probus's Birth-place and Paren-tage.*

*How e-steem'd by Valerian.*

then gathers within himself those Seeds, which afterwards produce the Fruit of Great Actions.

### *The Emperor Valerian the Father, to the Emperor Gallienus, the Son.*

**H**aving always had a good Opinion of Probus, as young as he is I have made him a Tribune, following therein both my own Judgement, and that of all others; who say he is worthy of his Name; that is, as Probus is his Name, so Probus is his Nature and Character. I have given him the Command of Six Cohorts of the Saracens, together with the Troops of the Auxiliary Gauls, and that Body of Persians which Artabastes the Syrian hath submitted to us. I desire you, my dearest Son, that as I would have this Youth to be the Example for all Young Persons to imitate, you would take that care of him, and receive him with that respect which his Virtues, his Merits, and the Splendour of his Natural Parts do deserve.

The Emperor *Valerian*, to *Mulvius Gallicanus* the Captain of the Guards.

YOU may wonder perhaps, That I have made a Beardless Youth a Tribune, contrary to the Constitution of the Emperor Hadrian. But you will soon Cease to do so, if you consider what a truly deserving Youth Probus is. I never think of him, but I compare together his Name and his Qualities; they do so justify one another. If it had not been his name, he might have been entitled Probus, because of the Probity of his Temper and Actions. You will therefore order that there be given him, being but of an indifferent Fortune, to make up the Occasions of his Station, two Russet Tunicks, two French Robes with Clasps, two Linen Jerkins, one Vessel of Silver of ten pound weight Ingraved; one hundred Antonine's in Gold; one thousand Aurelian's in Silver, and ten thousand Philips in Brass. And for his ordinary Pension, ten Pound of Beef, ten Pound of Pork, ten Pound of the Flesh of the Goat, a Pullet every two days, one Quart of Oil every two days, ten Quarts of Old Wine every day, with Salt, Herbs, and Wood, as much as he wants. You shall without order him the same Quarters, as to the Tribunes of the Standing Legions.

*Praemi-  
ums given  
him.*

In the War against the *Sarmatae*, in which he was a Tribune, he passed the *Danube*, and acted with so much bravery so many things, that he was publickly in a Council of War presented with four Spears; two Crowns, in the form of a Trench; (being of that sort which are given to such as first enter the Enemies Camp;) one Civick Crown, four Standards, two Bracelets of Gold, one Chain of Gold, and one Piece of Plate of the weight of five Pound. The Civick Crown was given him because he retook out of the Hands of the *Quadi*, a Noble Youth, called *Valerius Flaccinus*, who was a Relation of the Emperor *Valerian*. These *Praemiums* were all delivered to him by *Valerian* himself, who at the same time raised him to the Command of the Third Legion, with this Elogium.

My well beloved *Probus*,

**T**Hough it may seem Early, in respect of your Age, that I prefer you to a Command in the Standing Forces of the Empire, yet in respect of the Actions done by you, I may rather be thought to have made it later, than I ought. Receive therefore into your Trust, the Third Noble Legion, which I have never given before but to a Person of more years, and my self was in Gray Hairs, when I first was preferred to it. But Age is a thing I have no reason to wait for in you, whose Bravery is so shining, and your Manners so Charming. I have ordered three Suits of Cloaths to be given you; doubled your Pay, and appointed your Standard-Bearer.

It

It would be too long a Work, to run through the several Actions of this Great Man in the Reigns of *Valerian*, *Gallienus*, *Aurelian*, and *Claudius*, whilst he was yet in a private Capacity. How often he Scaled the Walls, entred the Enemies Trenches; how many of them he hath killed Hand to Hand, what Presents he received from the Princes, his Masters, and how he laboured by his Service to promote the good of the State. A Letter of *Gallienus* speaks thus of him.

The Emperor *Gallienus* to the Tribunes of the Forces, of the Province of *Illyricum*.

*A*lthough the Fatal Necessity of the Persian War hath concluded my Father a Prisoner in the Hands of the Enemy, yet I have a Kinsman, *Aurelius Probus*, in whose Services I can confide with security: That never to be named Tyrant, had never usurped upon the Empire, if Probus had been Present. Wherefore I desire you all to obey the Counsels of a Man, who is approved by the Judgement of both my Father, and the Senate.

Now though *Gallienus* was a soft Prince, which may seem to lessen the Authority of what he says; yet it cannot be denied, but let a Prince be never so soft, he will not how-

T 4 . ever

ever trust himself, but to one, whom he knows to be very well qualified to serve him. But though we should set aside the Testimony of *Gallienus*, what is to be said to that of *Aurelian*, who delivered over his own, which was the Tenth, and of all the bravest Legion in the Army, with whom he had done such great things himself, unto *Probus*, with this Elogium of him.

### The Emperor *Aurelian* to *Probus*, wisheth Health.

**T**HAT you may know, how great an account I make of you, I give into your Hands my Tenth Legion, which was given to me by the Emperor *Claudius*. They are Men, who by a certain Prerogative of Happiness are not accustomed to have other Commanders, than what afterwards are Emperors.

By this one would conclude, that it was in the mind of *Aurelian*, if he had died his own death, and had not been killed as he was by surprize, to have made choice of *Probus* for his Successour in the Empire too, as well as in his Legion.

Now it would be tedious to adjoyn to this the judgments of the Emperors *Claudius* and *Tacitus*. The latter, it is said, in the Senate when the Empire was offered to him, declared, that it ought rather to be given to

*Probus*:

*Probus*: and the first Letter, which after he was Emperor, he sent to *Probus*, was this.

### The Emperor Tacitus to *Probus*.

THE Senate hath indeed, with the good will and consent of the Army, made me the Emperor. But however you are to think, that as we all know, and the Senate knows your Worth and Abilities, the Burden of the Publick Affairs would have been better reposed upon your Shoulders than mine. Assist me in my Necessities, and continue as you do to Assert the Interest of the State. All the East is by our order reposed under your Government: wherefore we have encreased your Salary to five times as much as it was; we have doubled your Military Ornaments; and appointed you to be the Consul the next year in Conjunction with my self. Your Merits call for no less at my Hands.

The love of the Soldiers towards *Probus* was always very great; he again loved them; and kept them in their Duty, purely by his kindness to them. He oftentimes had rescued them from the great Cruelty of *Aurelian*: he visited the several Maniples, and examined their Cloaths and their Shooes; and whatever Booty was at any time taken, he divided it all amongst them, and reserved nothing to himself, but the Darts and the Arms. Amongst other things, whether taken from the *Alans*, or some other of those Barbarians I know not; but

but there was a Horse, which was neither Handsome nor Large, but the Prisoners said, that he was so good a Runner, that he would go a hundred Miles a day, and continue it for eight or ten days together. Every one thought that *Probus* would have kept this Beast to himself: but *Probus* said, that such a Horse was fitter for one that was for running away, than a brave Man. He ordered the Soldiers to draw Lots for Him. They writ their Names and put them all into an Urn. Four that were in the Army; were of the same Name with himself. But he, for his part, put in no Name. They drew, and the first Name that came up was, *Probus*. The four Soldiers of the Name of *Probus* not agreeing to which of them the Horse should go, because each Challenged the Lot, he ordered all the Army to draw again: the Lot that came up the second time was *Probus* again, and so it was a third time, and a fourth time. Which was so strange, that all the Army, together with those of that Name who had drawn the Lots, Dedicated the Horse to their Commander *Probus*.

*His Va-  
tour.*

*Probus* did great things in *Africa*. He bravely engaged and overcame the *Marmoricans*. He came to the City of *Carthage*, and cleared that of the Rebels. He fought a single Combat with one *Aradion* in *Africa*, and slew him; and when he had done, because *Aradion* was an extraordinary Stout and Resolute Man, he honoured him with a great Sepulchre, which is extant yet, two hundred Foot high from the Ground, built by the Soldiers;

diers; for those he never suffered to be idle. There are of his Works in several Cities of Egypt, which he built by his Soldiers. He did so many things upon the River of Nile, that he much promoted the Affairs of the Corn, which is Imported into Italy in Tribute yearly from Egypt. He built Bridges, Temples, Por-tico's, Basilica's, by the Hands of his Soldiers. He opened the Mouths of Rivers in many places, and drained several Fens, which he fitted for Tillage and Pasture. He Fought the Palmyreni, who in the behalf of Odenatus and Zenobia defended Egypt against the Empire. The first time he came off with Suc-cess. The second time, he was a little Rash, and was near being taken. But afterwards recovering his Strength, he reduced Egypt and the greatest part of the East, unto the Obedience of Aurelian. Since therefore upon the ac-count of so many and so great Virtues, he shined in the Eyes of the Empire, at the time of the death of Tacitus, though Florianus im-mediately pretended to succeed his Brother, yet all the Oriental Army declared Probus Em-peror.

The manner of his Elevation may be some-thing pleasant, which was thus. When the News came of the death of Tacitus, the Forces in the East were for preventing those in Italy, and also for preventing the Senate's making the Emperor a second time. The Question was, whom they should pitch upon. The Tribunes went about the Camp, and discoursed the Soldiers, Maniple by Maniple, and Bat-talion

*His Ele-vation to  
the Em-pire.*

talion by Battalion; Saying, we must have one, who is a Man of Courage, Goodness, Modesty, Clemency, and Probity. Probity to be sure, brought up the Rear of all the Virtues, which they desired to find in him; till repeating the same so often, the whole Army took the Hint, and unanimously, as if they were Inspired to it, cryed a *Probus*. We Salute *Probus* our Sovereign; the Gods save your Majesty. Then they ran and erected a Tribunal of Turf, and took *Probus* and proclaimed him Emperor, and put upon him a Cloth of Purple, which was taken for the purpose from off a Statue in the Temple, and from thence they carried him to the Palace; he all the while moving against his will, and drawing back, and often saying to them. Gentlemen, *This is not Convenient for your selves. You will not do well under me. I cannot flatter with you.*

*Unwilling to take it up on him.*

The first Letter, which he afterwards sent to *Capito*, the Captain of the Guards, was this.

**A**S I have never Coveted the Empire, so I have taken it upon me against my will. It is a most Invidious thing; and yet it is not free for me to help my self. I must Act the Person, that the Army bath imposed upon me. I beseech you, *Capito*, enjoy, as you do, with me the share, and the Command that you have, in the Interests of the State; and provide Convoyes and Provisions, and whatever is necessary every where for the Soldiers. I, for my part, if you take the care, that all things be done well, shall be glad

glad to have no other Captain of the Guards,  
than you.

The Guards therefore, and the Army in Italy, hearing of the Elevation of *Probus*, than whom they knew, that no Person was more deserving, they killed *Florianus*, who had pretended to take upon him the Crown, as it were Florianus slain. by Inheritance; and without more Disturbance the whole Empire was deferred to him, by the consent of both the Soldiery and the Senate. For to the latter *Probus* sent the following Harangue, which they answered with all the marks possible of Joy and Approbation.

Fathers of the Senate,

I was very well, and very regularly done the last Year, that the Roman Emperor was created by your Excellencies, and out of your own Body, who both are, and always have been, and will in your Posterity ever be the Sovereigns of the World. I wish that *Florianus* had waited for the same again from you; and that he had not Challenged to himself the Empire, as if it was his Inheritance; or, that he or any other Person had been exalted to it by you. But he having seized it on his own Head, and the Army having deferred it to us, and punished upon him an attempt in which he did Usurp, I refer my self wholly to the Commands of your Excellencies to judge of my Deservings, and to do with me as you please.

The

The Senate being met upon the third day of the Nones of February, in the Temple of Concord, passed the Act in the favour of Probus, in this manner.

The Consul *Aelius Scopianus*, said to them.  
*Gentlemen, You have heard the Letter of Auri-*  
*lius Valerius Probus. What say you to it.*

They cried, *The Gods save the Emperor Probus. We welcome his Majesty to the Crown. You have been long a worthy, Brave, Just, and Good Commander and General. As you are an Example to the Army, be an Example to the Empire. The Gods save you. Reign in Happiness; an Assertor of the State, and a Master of War, Reign in Happiness. The Gods preserve you and yours. The Senate had already Chosen you in their minds. You come after Tacitus in respect to the Age which you are of; but you are before all in all things else. We thank you, that you have undertaken the Empire. Defend us, defend it. We may well commit our selves to you, who have already preserved us. A Conqueror of the Franks, Goths, Sarmathins, Parthians: you are all things, and always have been worthy of the Empire, worthy of Triumphs. Proceed and Reign in all Happiness.*

Then

Then *Manlius Statianus*, who was the eldest Senator, spoke thus.

Fathers of the Senate,

**T**Hanks to the Immortal Gods, and above the rest to the most excellent Jupiter, who hath given us such a Prince, as we have ever wist to enjoy. If we consider it well, we have no want now of either Aurelian, or Alexander Severus, or the Antoninusses or Trajan, or Claudius. We have all things, and all their Virtues in this one Prince. The knowledge of War, Clemency, a good Life, an exemplar of a Patriot, and Bravery to the highest Perfection. What part of the World is there, to which he hath not made known his Victorious Arms? witness the Marmoricans in Africk, vanquished by him; witness the Franks, whom he hath overthrown in their own unpassable Fens; witness the Germans and the Almains; whom how far hath he repulsed from the Banks of the Rhine? What shall I say more of the Sarmatians, the Goths, the Parthians, and all the Country upon the Euxine? Every where do the Tropies of the Valour of Probus flourish. It would be too long to tell how many Kings of great Nations hath he put to flight? What Captains hath he killed with his own hand? What numbers of Arms hath he taken in his time? The Letters of our Emperors which are upon the Records, shew what Publick thanks, he hath received from all those for his signal Services. My good Gods! How many times hath he been crowned with the Military rewards? What Elogiums hath he had from the Soldiers?

Whilst

Whilſt he was but a Youth, he was a Tribune of the Auxiliaries; and not long after, he was made the same in the Roman Legions. Wherefore, thou most excellent and most powerful Jupiter, and Juno the Queen, and thou Minerva the President of Arts, and thou the Goddess Concord, and the Goddess Victory, grant ye this Favour to the Senate and People of Rome, to our Allies, and to Foreign Nations, that Probus may Reign as Happily, as he hath served. I, Gentlemen, with all your Consents, do Decree to him the Style and Title of our Cæsar and our Emperor; and I add thereto the Proconsular Power, the Honour of the Title of Father of our Country, the Sovereign Pontificate, the right of a third Reference, and the Tribunitian Power. They cried, We all, all, say the same; and so the Houle rise.

Probus having received this Act of the Senate, sent a second Letter to them; by which he permitted them to Judge of Appeals; to Create the Proconsuls; to Create Lieutenants with Consular Power, over Legatorian Provinces; and Presidents with the Power of Praetors; to Confirm and Consecrate by their Decrees, the Acts which he thought fit to make himself. Then he by several ways punished as many as were yet alive, of the Murderers of *Aurelian*; and yet he did it with more Tenderness, and more Moderation, than either the Army, or *Tacitus* had done before. He punished also those who had been the Murderers of *Tacitus*. He pardoned the Accomplices of *Florianus*; because he thought, because he thought that they

they followed him not as an *Usurper*, but as their last Prince's Brother. He accepted the Obedience of all the *European* Forces, that had made *Florianus* Emperor, and killed him when they had done. In the next place he set out with a Puissant Army for *Gallia*; which first fell into Confusion upon the Death of *Posthumius*; but was over-run with the *Germans* since the death of *Aurelian*. He fought there several great and happy Battels; insomuch that he recovered sixty Noble Cities which were fallen into the Hands of the Barbarians. He retook all the Prey beside, and all the Riches which they had sucked out of the People, and vaunted themselves insolently in: he slew of them, whilst they were roaring up and down the Country in security, as far as to the Borders of *Italy*, nigh four hundred thousand, and the remainder he drove beyond the Rivers of *Elbe* and *Necker*. He took as much Booty from them, as they had before taken from the *Romans*; besides which he planted *Roman* Colonies and Garrisons on the Barbarian Soil, and placed his Soldiers upon them. He assigned Fields, Barns, Houses and Magazines for all the Forces, which he fixt on the other side of the *Rhine*: Heads of the Barbarians were daily brought to him at the Price of a Crown of Gold & Head: nor did he forbear his Pursuit of them, till Nine of their Petty Kings of several Nations came, and threw themselves at his Feet: from whom he first demanded Hostages, which were presently given; then Corts; Cattel and Sheep: some say, he

Probus his  
Successes  
against  
the Barba-  
rians.

commanded them, not to use a Sword again, but to expect the defence of the Roman Arms, in case they were attack'd by any Enemy. But this is so hard, that I think it cannot be; unless the Conquests of the Romans had been more extended, and all Germany had been reduced into a Province. However he severely punished such with the consent of those Royal Masters themselves, as continued to keep back any of the Spoil, which they had taken upon the Roman Provinces, and did not faithfully return it. He accepted of a Draught of sixteen thousand Young and Fresh Men out of the Forces of these Barbarians; which he dispersed into several Provinces of the Empire, and inserted them into the Legions, and into the Garrisons upon the Frontiers, by about fifty or sixty in a Legion; saying, *That though it is good for the Romans to serve themselves of the assistances of the Barbarians, yet that assistance ought rather to be felt, than seen.* So having settled the State of Gallia, he sent the following Letter to the Senate.

Fathers of the Senate,

I Give thanks to the Immortal Gods, that they have approved and justified your Judgements, in your Choice of me: all that broad and extended Country of Germany is subjugated. Nine Kings of the several Nations have in the humblest manner cast themselves at my Feet. Nay rather, I shculd say, it is at your Feet. They all now Plow, and Sow for you; and they fight for you against the rest of your Enemies. You will therefore appoint

point the Processions and Thanksgivings to the Gods as usual. Four hundred thousand of the Enemy are slain; and sixteen thousand others, with their Arms, are come into our Service. Sixty Noble Cities are recovered out of the Slavery of the Enemy, and all Gallia is entirely set at Liberty. The Crowns of Gold, which all the Cities of Gallia have presented me with upon this occasion, I have remitted to you, my Fathers, to be by your Hands Consecrated to the most Excellent, and most mighty Jupiter, and the rest of the Immortal Gods and Goddesses. All the Spoil, which they had taken from us, is retaken, and a great deal more and better to it. The Fields of Gallia are plowed with the Cattle of the Barbarians, and the German Beasts yield their Captive Necks to our Yokes. All their Sheep graze now upon our Pasture, and their Horse are with our Horse, and our Barns are full with their Corn. What shall I say more? If we have left the bare Soil perhaps, it is ill: their Goods are all in our Possession. We have been sometime thinking, my Fathers, to appoint a new President of Germany. But we have deferred it, as yet to another opportunity, when the Divine Providence shall still further have prospered our Arms.

From Gallia, he went into Illyricum. In his way to which he so secured and established the Peace of Rhaetia, as not to leave the least suspicion of any Danger from thence. In Illyricum, he so severely beat the Sarmatians, and others who had thrust themselves in there, that he easily recovered all the Places and Spoil,

His Conquest of the Sarmatians.

commanded them, not to use a Sword again, but to expect the defence of the *Roman Arms*, in case they were attack'd by any Enemy. But this is so hard, that I think it cannot be; unless the Conquests of the *Romans* had been more extended, and all *Germany* had been reduced into a Province. However he severely punished such with the consent of those *Roy-telers* themselves, as continued to keep back any of the Spoil, which they had taken upon the *Roman Provinces*, and did not faithfully return it. He accepted of a Draught of sixteen thousand Young and Fresh Men out of the Forces of these *Barbarians*; which he dispersed into several Provinces of the Empire, and inserted them into the Legions, and into the Garrisons upon the Frontiers, by about fifty or sixty in a Legion; saying, *That though it is good for the Romans to serve themselves of the assistances of the Barbarians, yet that assistance ought rather to be felt, than seen.* So having settled the State of *Gallia*, he sent the following Letter to the Senate.

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His Conquest of the Sarmatians.

which they possessed, without almost making more War. He carried his Arms into *Tbrace* and *Dacia*: where all that Gotick People, affrighted with only the Fame of his Actions, and seeing the antient Power of the Empire revived in him, submitted to him, and became his Friends. Then he went into the East, he took and slew, in his way, a Robber, of great Power, called *Palfrurius*; which was a means of the recovery of all the Province of *Isauria* in the *Lesser Asia*, to the Obedience of the Laws of the *Romans*. He entred either by force or friendship into the Places possessed by the Barbarians in that Province; and when he had done, he said, it was a Country in which, it was easier to drive the Robbers that infested it, from one place to another, than to extirpate them, and to rid the Country of them. All the Avenues and Straights he gave to be enjoyed and inhabited by Veterans, and Superannuated Soldiers, under a Law, that they should send their Sons to the War at the Age of Eighteen, lest they take to be Robbers, before they come to be Soldiers.

*His Ea-  
stern Ex-  
pedition.*

He reduced unto a peaceable subjection all the parts of *Pampbylia*, and the other Provinces adjoyning to *Isauria*, and so followed his Journey into the East. He Conquered the *Blemmyæ*, of whom he sent some Prisoners to *Rome*, who were a wonderful Spectacle and an Admiration there to all the People. The Cities of *Coptos* and *Ptolemais* in *Egypt*: he took, and delivered them from the Barbarian Yoak, and adjoined them to the Empire. The Fame whereof

whereof wrought so upon the *Perſians*, that they ſent Embaſſadours to him, confeſſing the fears which they conceived of his Arms, and defiring a Peace. He received those Embaſſadours very proudly, and ſent them home with worse thoughts than they came. He refuſed the Preſents, which they brought him from the King their Maſter, and wriṭ thereupon this Letter to *Narſem*, the Go-vernour of *Armenia*, for the King of *Perſia*.

**A**LL that you have, will be mine; I won-  
der therefore, that you ſhould think to gra-  
tifie me with ſuch a Handful of things. You may  
please to take to your ſelf again, what you ſo  
much delight in: when we would have them,  
we know how we ought to poſſeſſ our ſelves of  
them.

This Letter was a matter of great Conſte-  
nation to *Narſem*, eſpecially as it was accom-  
panied with the News of the taking of the  
Cities of *Coptos* and *Ptolemais* from the *Blem-  
myæ*, and the putting thoſe People to the  
Slaughter; who before had made themſelves a  
Terror to all their Neighbours.

After the Peace of *Perſia*, *Probus* returned  
again into *Tbrace*; where, upon the Lands of  
the *Roman* Empire he planted one hundred  
thouſand of the *Baſtarne*, who all kept their  
Faith with him: but others of the Barbarian  
Nations, of whom he traſplanted great num-  
bers in like manner, that is, of the *Gepidi*, the  
*Grotbungi*, and the *Vandals*, all theſe broke their

Faith, and whilst *Probus* was employed in the Wars with *Saturninus*, and those who pretended to Usurp the Empire from him, they rose, and found a means to over-run almost all parts, by Sea or Land, to the trouble and the dishonour of the *Roman* Name; till *Probus* at length by several turns set upon them, overcame them, and oppressed them, and left to few of them the happiness of getting home in safety.

These were his Actions with the Barbarians. His other Troubles were such, as he suffered from the attempts of particular ambitious Subjects, who were for setting them-

*His intestine Troubles.* selves up for the Empire: one of whom was *Saturninus*, who usurped the Empire of the East, and who engaged *Probus* in several Battles; till *Probus* by his known Gallantry overcame him, and with the same Conquest established such a firm Peace in the East, that not a Mouse dared to stir more there. The others who pretended to the Empire in like manner, were *Praculus* and *Bonosus* at the City of *Cologne*; who challenged to themselves all the Provinces of *Britain*, *Spain*, and *Gallia*. But the *Germans* refused to assist them in their Enterprize. The Arms of *Probus* prevailed over both these, of whom, as also of *Saturninus* and *Firmus*, a more particular account will follow afterwards by themselves. After this, *Probus* permitted to all *Gallia*, *Spain*, and *Pannonia*, the liberty of Planting Vines, and making Wine: he set his own Soldiers upon digging the Mountain *Almus*, which is by the City

*Sirmium*

Sirmium in the Lower Pannonia, and he planted it himself with an excellent Grape.

Coming to Rome, he entertained the People there with the Publick Games and Pastimes in a manner which was very magnificent; besides the Largesses, which he gave amongst them. His Return to Rome.

He Celebrated a Triumph for his Conquest of the *Blemmyæ*, and the Germans in which he had Troops, to the number of fifty in a Troop, of Men of all Nations that marched before him. He gave an Entertainment of a Chase of Beasts in the Cirque, which was very Generous. The People first Hunted, and then shared the Beasts amongst them. The manner of it was thus; the whole Cirque was turned into the nature of a Forest. Great Trees pulled up by the Roots by the Soldiers, were Planted up and down, their Beams covered with Earth, the Trees green and fresh; and then by the several Passages which opened into the Cirque, entred a thousand Ostriches, a thousand Stags, a thousand Boars, a thousand Deer, Evecks, wild Sheep, and other Herbarick Animals of as many kinds as could be had; all which the Populace being let in upon them, encountred, and killed, and took every one what they could. Another day he caused a hundred great Lions to enter into the Cirque at once, who raised a sort of Thunder with their Roaring. All these were killed upon the place, and in these Encounters many of the Men, that fought with the Beasts, by accident have killed one another. Then came forth a hundred *Libyan* Leopards, a hundred

other *Syrian Leopards*, a hundred *Lionesses*, and three hundred *Bears*; the sight of all which was not to be said so grateful, as it was great. Next appeared three hundred couple of *Gladiators*, amongst which were several of the *Blemmyæ*, who had been led in *Triumphant*, several *Germans* and *Sarmatians*, and some also of the *Robbers* that had been taken and brought out of the Province of *Isauria*.

*His Death and the Occasion.* After these things, as *Probus* was preparing for a War with *Perisia*, and was come, on his way, as far as *the City Sirmium in Sclovonia*, the Soldiers plotted together and killed him. The occasions whereof were these. First because he never suffered them to lie idle: for he employed them upon many other Works, besides those of the War, which he finished by their Hands; and said, that Soldiers ought not to eat the Bread of the Country for nothing. The next thing was, that he said, that he hoped in a short time he would make it so, that the State should have no need of Soldiers. Which is a great saying, and expresses an extraordinary force of Spirit. *Have no more need of Soldiers!* Why, what is it but to say, that the *Romans* shall universally Reign and Possess all things in safety? Secure of the whole Earth for their Empire, there shall be no more of making Arms, nor gathering Magazines, nor Convoying Provisions; the Ox shall be kept for the use of the Plow, and the Horse for the Services of Peace; an Universal Peace! There shall be no more Wars, no leading

leading into Captivity ; the Laws of the Romans and their Magistrates shall every where prevail in vigour. My Affection to so excellent an Emperor would Transport me further, than the Quality of the Style in which I write, does require or permit. But I shall only add a third thing, which above all hastened the Fatal End of this Great Man. When he came to Sirmium, desiring to Fructifie and to Dilate the Borders of the place of his Nativity, he set several thousands of his Soldiers upon the drayning a Fen ; which was to be done by making a great Foss to receive the Waters, and exonerate them by an Out-let into the Sea ; and so the Ground might become of use to the People of Sirmium. The Fatigue of this Piece of Work so enraged the Soldiers, that they assaulted him ; and as he fled for Safety into an Iron Tower, which himself had built there for a Watch-Tower very high , they killed him in the fifth year of his Reign : however afterwards the Army unanimously built him a lofty Sepulchre, whereon in Marble was Engraved this Inscription : *Here lies the Emperor Probus ; who was a Prince of true Probity, according to his Name. The Conqueror of all the Barbarian Nations, and the Conqueror of the Pretenders to the Empire in his time.*

When I compare the Emperor *Probus* with others of the Roman Princes his Predecessors, and almost with all our Great Captains of the former time, whose Fortitude ; whose Clemency ; whose Prudence ; whose extraordinary Actions have signalized them to Posterity.

I am

I am apt to think that this Person was equal to them, or if I may speak it without envy, he excelled them. In the five years of his Reign, he finished so many Wars, in so many several parts of the World, and all in his own Person, that it is a wonderful thing, which way he rendered himself sufficient for all those occasions. He did many Valiant Actions in Battle with his own Hand. He formed several famous Commanders. *Carus, Dioclesian, Constantius, Asclepiodotus, Annibalian, Leonides, Cercopius, Pisonianus, Herennian, Gaudiosus, Ursinian, Herculanus, Maximian*, and others whom our Fathers have admired, and of whom some have since approved themselves good Princes upon the Throne, were All formed by the Discipline of *Probus*. Now let any one, who pleases, compare with this the twenty years of the Reigns of *Trajan* and *Hadrian*: let him compare as many of the *Antoninusses*; or what shall I say, of the Emperor *Augustus*, because the years of his Reign are scarce very well determined? Not to mention all such as have been ill Princes! That famous Expression alone of *Probus*, That in a short time there should be no need of Soldiers, shews his vast design, and what he hoped to have been able to effect. He feared neither the Barbarians abroad, nor Usurpers at home; he was assured of his own Conscience. And to what a happiness had we all arrived, if he had lived to make good his words? to have seen all the Provinces free from Taxes, no Army to pay, the Roman Treasures abiding Eternal and unexhaustible, nothing

nothing spent by the Prince, nothing taken upon the Subject! Certainly it would have been a golden Age. We had had no more to do with Camps: no more of the noise of Arms, nor of the Hammering them: The Soldiers that now disquiet the State with Civil War, would have Cultivated the Fields or followed Navigation, or sought their Employes in the Arts, and no more blood shed! Ye good Gods, in what hath the *Roman* State offended you so, that have taken from us such an Excellent Prince. We now run upon Civil Wars, and Arm Brother against Brother, and the Son against the Father: but well have our Emperors done to Consecrate *Probus* a God, and set up his Image in the Temples, and to Celebrate him in the Procession to the Games of the Cirque.

The Posterity of *Probus*, to avoid Odium or *Envie*, retired from *Rome* and Publick Busines, and placed themselves about the City *Verona*, and the Lakes *di Garda* and *Como*, and those parts. I cannot omit to observe, that when an Image of *Probus* at *Verona* was struck with Lightning, that the Robe, in which he was done, changed its Colour, the Soothsayers answered thereupon, that those of his Family should be all of them one day of great Note in the Senate, and come to be raised unto the highest Honours: which may perhaps hereafter be; but we see nothing of it as yet.

The Senate received the News of the death of *Probus* with great displeasure, and so did the People. But when they heard of the Succession

sion of *Carus* in his place, who though he was a good Man, was far distant however from the Merits of *Probus*, and had a Son beside, (*Carinus*) that had always lived ill; both the Senate and the People were struck with a horrour; because they apprehended the humour of the Father a little; but his wicked Heir much worse.

This is what we have met with, and have thought worthy to be committed to future Memory, concerning *Probus*. It remains, that we give next a short, but a distinct account of *Firmus*, *Saturninus*, *Bonosus*, and *Proculus*. Because it was not fit to mix those four Pretenders to the Empire, together with the account of this good Prince. Afterwards, if my Life serves me, I may undertake the History of *Carnus* and his Son.

THE

## F I R M U S.

IT is very seldom I know, that we find, that any particular Account is given of such Petit Emperors, as Usurping that Name, have set up themselves in vain against the Received Prince, in some parts or other of the *Roman Empire*. The most that is done is to touch lightly upon them in a word, *en Passant*, after the manner with which *Suetonius Tranquillus* contents himself, who is a very Correct and very Candid Writer, in relation to *Antoninus* and *Vindex*. Nor do I admire at this in such an Historian as *Suetonius*, to whom it was familiar, to love Brevity. But why *Marius Maximus*, who is the most Verbose of all Men, and who hath not forborn to embarrass himself with tedious Accounts of things, and to descend even to Fictions and Fables, to fill up his History; why he hath not been more particular than he is, in his Descriptions of *Avidius Cassius*, *Claudius Albinus*, and *Pescennius Niger*, who pretended to the Empire, the first against the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, the others against *Septimius Severus*, I do not understand? On the contrary, *Trebellius Pollio* hath thought fit to be so diligent and so careful in his Collections

lections as to those Princes, whether Good or Bad, undertaken by him, that he hath laid together a separate History of Thirty Pretenders to the Empire, who set up themselves in, or much about the Times of the Emperors *Gallienus* and *Valerian*. And in imitation of his Example, since I have already passed through the Trouble of the Reigns of *Aurelian*, *Tacitus*, *Florianus*, and that great and singular Prince *Probus*, I am very willing before I proceed to those of *Carus*, *Numerian*, and *Carinus*, who succeeded the next to the Empire, not to omit to say something of *Firmus*, *Saturninus*, *Procullus*, and *Bonosus*, who set up themselves in the time of the Emperors *Probus* and *Aurelian*.

You know, my dear *Bassus*, what a Dispute we lately had with one, who is a great lover of History, that is, *M. Fonteius*; when he said, that *Firmus*, who possessed himself of *Egypt* in the time of *Aurelian*, was a Robber and not a Prince. Against which, I, together with me *Rufus Celsus*, *Cejonius Julianus*, *Fabius Sofianus*, and *Severus Arcontius*, affirmed, that *Firmus* did both actually wear the Purple, as a Prince, and had a Coin stamped in his Name, whereof some Pieces were produced, and also by the Grecian and the *Egyptian* Writings it appears, that in the Edicts which he published, he is remarked by the Title of Emperor. The only Reason which *Fonteius* had to offer against this, was; That *Aurelian* did not say in his Edict, speaking of *Firmus*, that he had killed a Tyrant or a *Pseudo* Emperor, but that he had deliver'd the State of a Robber. As if it could be

be expected, that so Renowned a Prince as *Aurelian* should have given him any better Name. Or, as if all great Princes did not call those Robbers, who Invade their Crowns, and are beaten besides in the Attempt. Not but that, I remember very well, that in the Life of *Aurelian*, I have represented *Firmus*, as one, who did not pretend to the Purple, as an Emperor. For I must confess, that when I writ that, it was, because I had not then the knowledge of all the things concerning him, which I have attained to since. But to be short;

*Firmus* was a Native of the City of *Selencia*. Several Grecian Writers do give him to another place indeed; but that is a mistake, into which they are led by this, that there are three at the same time of the same Name of *Firmus*; whereof one was the Governour of *Egypt*; the other a Preconsul and a General on the Frontiers of *Africæ*: But this *Firmus* was a Friend and an Associate of the Lady *Zenobia*; for whom he, with the assistance of the *Egyptians*, took the City of *Alexandria*, and was at length happily defeated by *Aurelian*, and the wonted bravery of that Prince.

There are many things reported of the Riches of this *Firmus*. It is said, that he had the Walls *Vast* of his House Wainscoted with Squares of Glass, *Wealth* fastned by *Bitumen*, and other Medicaments. *of Firmus.* He was the Master of so much of the Manufacture of Paper, that he often publickly said, he could maintain an entire Army out of only Paper and Glue. He entertained a great Friendship with the *Blemmyæ* and the *Saracens*. He sent

sent Ships of Merchandise oftentimes into India. He had two Elephant's Teeth, ten Foot long; with which, and two others added to them, *Aurelian* who took them, designed to make a Chair, wherein to place a Statue of *Jupiter* in Gold, covered with Jewels and a Robe of State, and illustrated with Inscriptions: Which Statue was to be set up in the Temple of the Sun, and to be entitled, *Jupiter the giver of Good Counsel*. But *Carinus* afterwards possessing himself of those Teeth, made a Present of them to a certain Lady, who used them for the Feet of a Bed. I say no more, because we of this Age know her; and for Posterity, it signifies nothing. But thus that *Indian* Rarity, which was Consecrated to the most Excellent and Mighty *Jupiter*, was by a lewd Prince made at once the Purchase of a Mistress, and the Scene of the Exercise of her too:

*His Personage.*

*Firmus* was of a large Stature, with great and prominent Eyes, frizled Hair, Scars and Wounds on his Face, a blackish Vifage, the rest of his Body fair enough, but Hairy and Bristly; so that a great many called him a *Cyclops*. He eat a vast deal of Flesh; some say, a whole Ostrich in a day. He drunk not much Wine, but very much Water; and was a Man of a strong Brain and so robust Nerves, that one might allow him to be stronger than the Gladiator *Tritannus* in *Varro*. For he would bear a Smith's Anvil, with Persons with all their force knocking upon it, upon his Breast, as he lay bent in his Body backwards, and only resting upon his Hands and Feet, without touching

the

the ground with his Back. There was once a dispute betwixt him and some of the Officers of *Aurelian* about Drinking. *Burburus*, a most noted Drinker, and an old Soldier, challenged him to Drink with him. *Firmus* drank up two large Vessels full of Wine, and remained all the time after sober. Says *Burburus* to him, *Why have you not drank up the very Grounds too?* You silly Creature, answer'd *Firmus*, no body drinks Earth.

This *Firmus* therefore assumed to himself the Quality of an Emperor, in opposition to *Aurelian*; and maintained the Parts which as yet were remaining to *Zenobia* in the East. *Aurelian* beat him, in his return from *Heren* in *Mesopotamia*. Some say, *Firmus* afterwards Hanged His self and himself. But this is disproved by the Edict of *Aurelian*, which he sent to *Rome*, together with the Notice of his Victory, which was thus.

The Emperor *Aurelian* to his most  
dearly beloved People of *Rome*,  
sendeth Greeting.

WE have reduced all the Parts of the Roman World whatever, unto a peaceable subjection to us. *Firmus* the Ægyptian Robber, who was in motion with a Company of Barbarians, and was gathering up the reliques of the Forces of *Zenobia*, in short, we have defeated, taken him, and killed him. There is nothing more for you, my Romans, now to be afraid of. The Tribune

bute of Ægypt, which that wicked Robber had suspended, will now come entire to you. Be you at Concord with the Senate, and in good Amity with the Gentry, and the Soldiers of the Guards. I will take care, that nothing shall hurt you. Entertain your selves at the Pastimes and the Shows of the Cirque. Follow your Pleasures, whilst we are taken up with the Necessities of the State. Wherefore, my most Excellent Romans, and so he goes on with his Edict.

This, Sir, is what you may know, we have collected, that is worthy of Remembrance, concerning *Firmus*. If you would desire to understand further all the light and frivolous things which *Aurelius Festivus*, a Servant of the Emperor *Aurelian*, hath written of him, I must refer you to read that Author your self. I come next to *Saturninus*, who set up for the Empire against *Probus*, in the Parts of the East.

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SATUR-

## SATURNINUS.

**S**ATURNINUS was by Nation a Frenchman, who are a most Unquiet sort of People, and always ambitious of setting up for Empire.

This Man, being known to *Aurelian* to be an excellent Commander, was preferred by that Emperor to be the General on the Oriental Frontier. At the same time he wisely commanded him, never to see *Egypt*. For reflecting, as it is thought, upon the Nature of the *Gauls* on the one hand, and of the *Egyptians* on the other, he was afraid, that should *Saturninus* come amongst so troublesome a People as those of the *Egyptians*, he might by their Conversation be spurred on to those Attempts, to which his *French* Genius it self enough inclined him.

The *Egyptians*, you know very well, are a *Character* Ventole, Outragious, Proud, Injurious sort of People, Loose, Libertines, lovers of Novelties; they will dare to sing Seditious Songs publickly in the Streets; Versifiers upon the Persons of their Princes and Magistrates; Astrologers, Soothsayers, Empiricks, sometimes Christians, sometimes Jews, always displeased with the present

present Times, against which they give themselves a strange Liberty. I would not have any *Ægyptian* to blame me for this Character, nor think that I write it of my own head; for I will insert here a Letter of the Emperor *Hadrian*, which I have met with in the Books of *Pblegon*, who was a Servant to him, that fully detects the Lives of the *Ægyptians*.

### The Emperor *Hadrian* unto *Servianus* the Consul, Greeting.

I have given my self a perfect Understanding of *Ægypt*; which you, my well beloved *Servianus*, did sometime recommend to me. They are a light inconstant People, always in suspense, and changing at every stroke of Fame. Those, who Worship the God, *Serapis*, are nevertheless Christians; and Men who call themselves the Bishops of Christ, are Votaries to *Serapis* too. There is no Ruler of the Synagogues of the Jews, no Samaritan, no Presbyter of the Christians, no Astrologer, no Soothsayer, no Physician, but he Worships *Serapis*. The Patriarch himself of Alexandria when he comes hither, is by some obliged to adore *Serapis*, by others to adore Christ. A sort of Men they are, extreamly Seditious, Vain and Injurious: Alexandria it self is Splendid, Rich, and Fruitful; no body lives Idle in it. Some make Glass, others Paper; others work on Linen: every one appears to be of one Art or other. Not so much as the Gouty, either in Hand or Foot, but are employed, and have something that they do. The Blind

are

are employed. Serapis is a common God to them all. Him the Christians, the Jews, and Persons of all Nations Worship. I wish that it was a better-govern'd City. It deserves certainly, by its Populousness and Magnitude, to hold the Reins of all Ægypt. I have granted to this City all things. I have restored it to its antient Privileges, and have added new ones to them; for which they thanked me, whilst I was present with them; but I was no sooner departed, but they spoke a thousand things against my Son Ælius Verus, and what they have said concerning Antinous, I believe you have heard. So I leave them to their Eggs and Chickens; which how they Hatch, that is in a Dungbil, it is a shame almost to mention. I have sent you three Ægyptian Cups of changeable Colours, which a Priest of the Temple made a Present of to me. I dedicate them particularly to you and my Sister: I would have you to use them upon the Festival Days, and take care that your young Son does not handle them too roughly and break them.

So the Emperor Aurelian reflecting upon this various and unsteady Temper of the Ægyptians, commanded *Saturninus* not to come amongst them, to avoid the consequences which he foresaw, might follow upon it, if he did. In which he was in the right. For no sooner did the Ægyptians see him afterwards in Power, in the time of Probus, but they cryed, *We make Saturninus Emperor, The Gods save your Majesty.* It is true, he prudently retired presently from *Alexandria* again, and went into *Palestina*. But finding there, that it was not safe for him to

live after this in the Quality of a private Man, he suffered the Soldiers that were about him to put upon him the Purple, and adore him as Emperor. The Purple was a Cloak, taken off for the purpose of a Statue of *Venus*. My Grand-father was in the Company when he was Adored: I have often heard him speak of it. *Saturninus*, he said, wept, and expressed himself thus:

If I may speak it without Arrogance, the Government hath lost an useful Subject. It is certain, I have re-established Gallia. I have recovered Africa out of the possession of the Moors. I have appeased Spain. But what's this? It is all lost, and the Merit of it will be abolished by this one Honour, which you unhappily affect to give me.

The Company that was about him, animating him on to the Enterprize, he said;

You know not, my Friends, what a troublesome thing it is to be a Prince? Drawn Swords by nothing but a Hair bang over our Heads; every where Poniards and Darts threaten us. Our Guards, our Companions themselves are fear'd by us. We eat not our Meat with pleasure, and we are forced to Wars and Arms, many times, contrary to our Judgments. Whatever one's Age is, to be sure, it meets with Reproaches upon the Throne. Is a Man Old? he is disabled, and past Service. Is he Young? he is Wild and Rash. What shall I say of Probus, who is so universally Amiable? For whilst you make me Rival to him, to whom I willingly Cede, and whose Officer I desire rather to be, you draw me into a necessity of Destruction. I shall have only this Comfort, that I cannot perish alone.

This,

This, says *M. Salvidienus*, was truly his Speech. Indeed he was one, who had no small knowledge of Letters. He had studied Rhetorick in *Africa*, and at *Rome* he had frequented the publick Academies. To be short, I see some are mistaken about him, to think, that he was the *Saturninus* who pretended to the Empire in the time of *Gallienus*, whereas this was altogether another Person. This *Saturninus* was set up in the time of *Probus*, and killed against almost the inclinations of that Prince. For *Probus* writ several kind Letters to him, and promised him his Pardon. But the Soldiers who were about him, would not give him leave to hearken to those Offers. So the Party of *Probus*, which was sent against him, besieged him in some Castle in which he was, and killed him in the Action. It would be tedious to descend to all the particulars of his Stature, his Person, his Shape, his Eating and Drinking, which others may, that pleale, trouble themselves about, though the Example of them scarce signifies any thing. But I shall proceed to the following Account of *Procillus* and *Bonofus*.

Saturninus  
slain.

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# PROCULUS.

*His Extraction  
and Wealth.*

**P**ROCULUS was a Native of the City of *Albenga*, in the Republick of *Genoa*, amongst the Maritime *Alpes*; of a Gentleman's Family: but as well himself, as his Ancestors, were great Robbers; so that what with the Cattel, the Slaves, and such things as he had gotten by that means, he was very Rich. It is said, that at that time that he took upon him the Empire, he Armed two thousand of his own Slaves.

He had a Virago to his Wife, who precipitated him into the Madness of putting up for the Empire. Her Name was at first *Viturgie*; afterwards she was called *Sampson*. They had a Son called *Herennianus*; to whom if *Proculus* could have supported himself in his Enterprize but five Years, he said, he would have secured the Empire after him.

It cannot be denied, but that *Proculus* was an extraordinary and a very brave Man; and had always passed his Life under Arms. He had Commanded in the Quality of a Tribune over several Legions, and had done Actions of great Valour. Not to omit a pleasant Passage, which he glories in, in the following Letter, which I had rather give you in his own words, than represent it my self.

*Proculus*

*Proculus to Mætianus his Kinsman,  
wisheth Health*

I Have taken Captive out of the Country of Sarmatia one hundred Virgins. Ten of which I lay with in one Night. To the best of my power, in fifteen days, I have made Women of them all.

This is a Ridiculous Action you see, and extremely Libidinous, and yet he glories in it, and reckons as a fine thing, what was otherwise his Crime. However, being notwithstanding his Wickedness and his Lewdness, a considerable Officer, and one that acquitted himself always with great Courage, the Colony of Lyons in France, who had been severely Treated by the Emperor *Aurelian*, and were very much afraid again of *Probus*, soliciting him to it, he set himself up to be Emperor. *Onesimus* lays, which I do not remember that I have read in any one else, That he was made Emperor in Raillery, as it were, first at a Game of Chels. For being one day at an Entertainment, at Play at Chels, in which he went out King ten times, one of the Company who wanted not Wit, saluted him upon it as Emperor, and said, *The Gods save your Majesty.* And fetching him a piece of Purple, put it upon him, and then Adored him. This gave occasion to the Company that was privy to it, to joyn with him, and they went next to gain the Army, and so set up for the Empire.

*Proculus*

*Proculus* was not a little serviceable to the Gauls. For though he never fought, but in the way of the *Brigundages*, which he continually committed, he gained himself and them some glory over the *Germans*.

*He is  
slain.*

*Probus* coming against him, and ready to drive him almost out of the World, he desired to take Refuge in the assistance of the *Franks*; from whom he pretended to derive his Original. But as it is familiar with the *Franks* to break their Faith, and make no more than a Jest of it, they betrayed him, and so *Probus* overcame him and slew him. His Posterity are at this time living at *Albenga*, who in raillery will often say, that they neither like being Robbers, nor Princes. So much concerning *Proculus*.

## BONOSUS.

*His Ex-  
traction.*

**B**OНОSУS was of a House of *Spain*, but Born in *Britain*. His Mother a *Gauloise* or a *French* Woman. His Father either a Professor in Rhetorick, as he (the Son) said, or as I have found from others, a Grammian; who dying when this his Son was very young, his Mother, who was a Woman of Wit, educated him and taught him something of Letters.

He

He served as a Soldier first in the Foot, and afterwards in the Horse. He rose to be a Centurion, then to be a Tribune, and at last to be the General on the Frontier of *Rhaetia*.

No Man ever drank like *Bonosus*. The Emperor *Aurelian* said often of him, That certainly he was born, not to say to Live, but particularly to live to Drink. That Emperor however long had him in esteem, because of his experience in the matter of War. And when any Embassadors arrived from the *Barbarian* Nations of what Parts soever, it was the busi-  
ness of *Bonosus* to drink with them, till in their drink he discover'd out of them many times their secrets. For *Bonosus*, let him drink to what excess he would, was never concerned: But on the contrary, as *Onesimus* says in his Life of *Probus*, he was even the more prudent and more discreet for drinking. Withal he had this particular Quality with him, that as much as he drank, it pass'd from him again. It never was any burden to his Stomach, or his Belly, or his Bladder.

It happening one time, that the *Germans* had burnt the Shipping which the *Romans* used upon the River *Rhine*, *Bonosus*, to avoid the punishment which he feared for his Neglect in that matter, set up himself Emperor. He supported himself with that Quality longer than it was well to be expected. He engaged the Emperor *Probus* in a severe Battel; but being overcome, he Hanged himself; and they *Hanged* upon him, and said, *It is a Hog-head, and not a Man, that hangs here.*

He

*His Ability at Drinking.*

*His Death and Death.*

He left two Sons, and a Wife. The Sons, *Probus* forgave. The Wife he was very obliging to, and allowed her a Pension to her death. For besides, that she was a Woman, as my Grandfather hath said, of Wit and of singular Merit; she was a Princess of the Royal Blood of the Goths, and one whom the Emperor *Aurelian* had purposely married to *Bonosus*, that through her and him he might the better penetrate into all the Affairs of the Goths. I will give you here a Letter of *Aurelian* written to the Lieutenant of *Tbrace*, concerning that Marriage, and the Presents which *Aurelian* gave upon this occasion.

### The Emperor *Aurelian* to *Gallio Avitus*, Greeting.

**I** Writ to you in my last, to Assemble the Persons of Quality of the Goths, at the City of Heracla, for whom I have order'd an Entertainment. For I have a mind that Hunila shall be Married to Bonosus. You shall present the Bride with all things, according to the underwritten Order, and you shall Celebrate the Nuptials out of the Publick Money.

The Presents were, Fine Gowns of a Violet Colour, of Silk: one of Silk, embroider'd with Gold. Two fine Smocks, and all such other things as are proper for a Lady of Quality. You shall give her one hundred Philips in Gold, One thousand Antonines in Silver, and Ten thousand Sesterces in Brass.

This

This is what I remember, that I have read as to *Bonosus*. I might have omitted all these four last Persons, and perhaps no body would have missed them. But because I would not be wanting in any thing to my Trust, I have taken the care of intimating as much as I have been able to learn, concerning these also.

The remaining Princes, are *Carus*, *Numerianus* and *Carinus*: For as for *Dioclesian* and those that follow, it is fit, that they should be Represented by a better Pen than mine.

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THE

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*A. Christi*  
Cclxxxiii.

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THE  
Life and Reign  
OF THE  
EMPEROR  
CARUS.

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BY  
FLAVIUS VOPISCUS.

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**H**OW the Power of Fate reigns over the Commonwealth of *Rome*, and sometimes raises it to the greatest height, and then humbles it again, and throws it down as much the other way; the Death of the Emperor *Probus* is a sufficient demonstration. *Probus* had succeeded to the Empire after *Aurelian*, by the joyn*t* Voice of the Senate and the People; and whilst

whilst the Laws and the Government were lodged in so just a Hand, we seemed secure, considering that we had now enjoyed a few good Reigns together of a continued Series of Happiness to relieve the State, after all the different Calamities, and after so many changes of Fortune with which it had been tossed and varied in the course of time, in that manner, that it hath suffered almost all the Events which are incident to any Man, by the Mortality of his Nature.

But by a fatal Passion of the Soldiers, this so acceptable Emperor, *Probus*, was cut off; whose loss was so great, that we were no less struck at it, than a Man in a Fire or in a Shipwreck; and the Publick was reduced to that despair, as that every one feared the Succession of some *Domitian*, *Vitellius* or *Nero* in his place. It is natural at any time rather to have Fears than Hopes from the manners of an uncertain Prince: But especially well might a People do so, whose Wounds were yet green, and who not long since had had one of their Emperors (*Valerian*) carried into Captivity; another (*Gallicanus*) given up to Luxury, and about Thirty pretended Princes, in the mean time starting up, and rending the Empire in Pieces by a Civil War, according as every one challenged the Sovereignty to himself.

If we take a view of the Changes which the Commonwealth of *Rome* hath suffered from the Foundation of the City, we shall find, that never any People hath flourished more by good Fortune, nor yet laboured under worse. *Romulus*

*Various mulus, to begin with him, our true Father, Fortune of Rome under different Princes.*

who as I may say, begat, founded, constituted, and confirmed this State, had the singular Happiness above all other Founders to leave a perfect City. *Numa* afterwards added Triumphs to this City by his victorious Arms, and at the same time strengthened it with Laws of Religion. So we flourished to the time of *Tarquin* the proud; and then a Storm fell upon us, occasioned by the arbitrary Vices of that King, which we revenged; but it was not without much hazarding our own Ruine. From thence we passed and increased to the War of the *Gauls*, when we were over-run with a Flood of the Enemy, the City of *Rome*, excepting only the Capitol taken; and we suffered well nigh more hurt now, than we ever enjoyed good, since our very Foundation. However, our Commonwealth recovered itself from this Blow; but yet it was so plagued with the *Carthaginian Wars*, and the Terror of King *Pyrrhus*, that it could not be at any rest for its miserable Fears. At length, we conquered *Carthage*, and extended our Empire far beyond the Seas; the Sense of which Felicity was extenuated to us, by our Social Discords, and our Civil Wars, under which we spent our time, unto *Augustus Cæsar*, who repaired the State for us anew, if we may call that yet a Reparation, which was wrought at the Expence of our Liberty. However it is, although we were sometime troubled at home, amongst foreign Nations our Name flourished; and after several ill Emperors that afflicted us, the State lifted up its Head again under

under *Vespasian*. The Happiness of *Titus* was no sooner enjoyed than lost; to whom succeeded the cruel *Domitian*, whose Wounds went deep. Under *Nerva* and *Trajan*, and so to *Marcus Antoninus*, our Condition was better than ordinary; but then came the mad and cruel *Commodus*, and excepting in the Reign of *Septimius Severus*, the State received no good from all its Princes, from thence unto *Severus the Son of Mammæa*: It would be tedious to recount all the following History: *Valerian* was cast out of a Capacity of being enjoyed. *Gallienus* afflicted us fifteen Years. Fortune, who loves variety, and is almost always an Enemy to Virtue, envied *Claudius* a long Reign; and thus *Aurelian*, thus *Tacitus*, thus *Probus* were cut off and destroyed; that we may see, there is nothing so grateful to Fortune, as to turn things of the most publick Nature and Consequence variously upside down.

But why do I complain of these Matters here, and delay my self upon such inconstancies of the times? I come to the Emperor *Carus*, who was a Prince, as I may say, of a middle Character; but rather to be placed among the Good, than the ill ones; and he would have been much better, if he had not left such an Heir as *Carinus*.

The Country of the Nativity of *Carus* is *Bithynia*, so ambiguously reported by a great many, that I cannot be precise to determine, on whose *place of birth* *Carus* *uncertain*. *Onesimus*, who hath written the Life of *Probus* very carefully, says, that he was both born, and brought up to Letters

ters at *Rome*; but that his Parents were of the Province of *Illyricum*. *Fabius Cyrilianus*, who hath taken no less Pains about the History of the times of *Carus*, *Numerianus*, and *Carinus* says, that he was not born at *Rome*, but in *Illyricum*; and nor there of *Illyrian*, but of *Carthaginian* Parents. Now I remember I have seen in some Journal, that he was a *Milanese* born; but by his Grandfather incorporated into the City of *Aquileia*. Himself, it cannot be denied, pretended as if he was of *Roman* Blood, as the following Letter shews, which when he was a Proconsul, he writ to his Lieutenant, re-minding him of his Duty.

*Marcus Aurelius Carus the Proconsul  
of Cilicia, to Junius his Lieute-  
nant.*

OUR Ancestors, the great Men amongt the Romans, have observed a Custom in the creating their Lieutenants, to give the World a Specimen of their own Manners by those of whom they make Choice to act under them in the Service of the Government. But yet if this Custom had not been, I had done no otherwise than I have in my Choice of you. At the same time, I have observed this Custom too, unless you deserve me. You will please to take care, that you do not make us different from our Roman Ancestors.

His

His Speech which he first sent to the Senate, after he was created Emperor, signifies the same thing. A part if it was thus.

*I T may be a Matter of some Joy to you, Fathers of the Senate, that one but of your own Order, and also of your own Original is preferred to be Emperor. It shall not be by my means, that Strangers and Foreigners shall make better Princes, than those who are chosen out of you.*

Through the several degrees of Offices in the Army and the Civil List ; this Person came (as the Titles upon his Statues shew) to be the Captain of the Guards to the Emperor *Probus* ; in which Post, he gained himself so much the Hearts of the Soldiers, that after *Probus* was killed, they thought him the Man the most worthy of the Succession. Not that I am insensible, that several have suspected, that *Probus* was killed by an Intrigue of *Carus*. But, as *Carus* did constantly and severely revenge the Death of that Prince, so neither the Manners of *Carus*, nor the Obligations which were laid upon him by his Master, will suffer me to give Credit to such a Suspicion. The Honours which *Probus* did him, and the Opinion which he had of him, you may read in this Letter to the Senate.

## The Emperor Probus to his entirely beloved Senate wisheth Health.

A Monyſt other things, he ſays, happy would it be for our Empire, if we had many more ſuch Persons to execute the publick Offices, as *Carius* is, or as a great many alſo of you. I defire that his Statue, if you please, may be ſet up on Horseback, to the Honour of a Man who is comparable to the Antients; and alſo that a Houſe may be builte for him at the publick Charge; the Marble wherof ſhall be provided by me. It is fit, that we ſhould ſo reward the Integrity of ſuch a Person. And fo he goes on.

In ſhort, not to multiply things of leſſer mo-  
ment, and ſuch as are to be found elsewhere, as  
foon as *Carius* had entred upon the Empire,  
he with the Conſent of all the Army pro-  
secuted the Design of the *Persian War*, which had  
been enterprized by *Probus*. To his two Sons  
*Numerianus* and *Carinus*, he gave the Title and  
Power of *Cæſars*; the latter of which, he ſent  
with choſen Persons to the Government of  
*Gallia*. The former, who was a very ſweet  
and ingeniouſ Youth, he took along with  
himſelf. He often afterwards repented of  
ſending *Carinus* into *Gallia*; and he would  
much rather have ſent *Numerianus*, only he  
was not of an Age ſufficient, because it is a  
place which eſpecially requires a ſteady Gover-  
nour;

nour; for he was displeased with the Manners of *Carinus*, and complains of him in a Letter to the Captain of the Guards, insomuch that he really had it sometimes in his mind, what *Onesimus* says, to depose him for his ill deserts, from his *Cæsarean* Dignity again.

*Carus* served himself of the great Preparations and all the Force of *Probus* for the Wars, which he had before him. He dispatched first in great part, that with the *Sarmatians*; and then marching against the *Persians*, without any opposition, he took the Country of *Mesopotamia*, and came as far as to the City of *Ctesiphon*; whilst the *Persians* were engaged at home with their domestick Seditions. This gave him the Title of Conquerour of the *Persians*. He was in himself greedy of Glory, but his Captain of the Guards spurred him further on to it, seeking the Destruction both of him and his Son, because he coveted to succeed in the Empire after them. So being for extending the progress of his Arms even beyond *Ctesiphon*, he marched and died presently after; some say of Sicknes, others, that he was struck dead with Thunder and Lightning. It is true, that at that time, there arose on a sudden such a vast Tempest with dreadful Lightning and more dreadful Thunder, that several were almost killed with only the Fright. But as for the real manner of the Death of *Carus*, the Letter following of *Junius Calburnius*, one of his Secretaries, written to the Gouvernour of the City of *Rome*, gives this Account of it.

**A**S Carus, says he, our truly dear Prince lay sick in his Tent, on a sudden there arose such a Hurricane and a Storm, that all things darkened, and we could not discern one another. Then followed Thunder and Lightning, like the continued falling of fiery Meteors from Heaven, which astonished us so, that we did not know what we did, nor where we were. However, on a sudden, it was cried, the Emperor was dead, which happened just after the greatest clap of Thunder, that had frightened all. The Servants of the Emperor's Bed-Chamber, in grief for his Death, set Fire to his Tent. The Flame whereof joyned with the Lightning, occasioned a Discourse, that he was killed with the Lightning. But as much as I know of the matter, I think it is certain, that it was of his illness, that he died.

I have the rather inserted this Letter, because it is often said, that by a certain Power of Fate, the Roman Emperors are restrained from passing beyond the City of Cresspon; and that Carus was for that Reason destroyed by Lightning, because he offered to transgress that limit. But let timidity cover it self under what Arts it pleases, the Brave will despise them. The most excellent Caesar, Maximian, does not, nor will ever think it unpermitted to him to conquer the Persians, and to penetrate beyond them too; which I am of Opinion, he will effect, if we be not wanting ourselves to the promised Favour of the Gods.

There

There are many things which speak *Carus* a good Prince, and amongst the rest this; that presently after he was possessed of the Empire, the *Sarmatians* who were grown so insolent upon the Death of *Probus*, as to menace not only *Illyricum*, but *Tbrace* and *Italy* with an Invasion, these Men he so defeated, and broke chiefly by his Policy, that in a few days he settled the Security of *Pannonia*, killed sixteen Thousand of the Enemy, and took twenty Thousand more of both Sexes Prisoners.

This I presume, may be enough to say as to *Carus*.

Let us pass on next to *Numerianus*: For tho' *Carinus* was both the elder Brother, and the elder Cæsar, yet it is necessary to discourse of *Numerianus* the first, inasmuch as he was the nearest at that time to his Father, and followed his Death; and his Story also is something the more admirable, because of his Father-in-Law *Aper*. After him will follow that of *Carinus*, with whom the Emperor *Dioclesian* fought several Battels, and had the Fortune at last to kill him.

# NUMERIANUS,

## CÆSAR.

BY

## FLAVIUS VOPISCUS.

**N**UMERIANUS, the Son of *Carus*, was a Person extremely well disposed, as to his Manners, and truly worthy of the Empire.

*His Parts  
and  
Learning.* He had a singular Genius for Eloquence, both in Prose and in Verse. He declaimed in Publick, and was the Author of several things extant, which are Noble in that kind. In Verse he exceeded all the Poets of his Age. He disputed the Bays with the famous *Olympius Nemesianus*; and he as far outdid the *Iambicks* of *Aurelius Apollinaris*, as the Sun outshines every thing else. A Speech which he once sent unto the Senate, was filled with so much Eloquence, that they Voted him a Statue, to be set up in the *Ulpian Library*, not as to a *Cæsar*, but as an *Orator*. The Inscription

was,

was, To Numerianus Cæsar, the most Powerful Orator of his Time.

Accompanying his Father to the Persian War, he created himself a Sickness with the excessive grief, which he took at his Death; which gave an opportunity to Arrini Aper, his Father-in-Law, to kill him as he was in a Lit. <sup>littera</sup> He is <sup>littera</sup> ter, by which Aper designed to mount the <sup>murdered</sup> Throne himself in his stead. He kept the Murder private for several days; telling the Soldiers, when they enquired about his Health, that Numerianus was not to be seen, because he was obliged to keep out of the Wind and the Sun, for his sore Eyes, which he had; till at last the Body stinking, and the Treachery of Aper not being possible to be longer concealed, they took him and brought him to the Head of the Army; where after a great Harangue upon the occasion, and a Tribunal raised, it was proposed, who should be the just Avenger of the Death of Numerianus, and who the Prince to succeed to the Throne. All with a Divine Consent cried, Dioclesian, who then Commanded the Forces of the Household, and had received before already many Presages of his future Reign.

Dioclesian was a Personage of great Note, politick, well affected to the State, a lover of his Friends, prepared for all Events as occasion required; his Counsels always raised, yet never Extravagant nor Impudent, because he stifled within him the Motions of his unquiet Breast, with an extraordinary Obstinacy. He mounting the Tribunal, and being proclaimed Emperor,

peror, the Question next was, How *Numerianus* was Killed? *Aper*, who had been the Captain of the Guards, stood by. *Dioclesian* drew his Sword, and striking it through the Body of *Aper* upon the place, said, *This is the revenged. Author of the Death of Numerianus.* So *Aper* was served but as his Actions deserved. My Grandfather hath told me, that he was in the Company, when *Dioclesian* killed him with his own Hand; and he said, as *Dioclesian* made the Blow, he cryed to *Aper*, Be proud, that you fall by so great a Hand as mine.

It is Matter of Curiosity, and not commonly known, I mean the Story, which is proper to be told in this place, of a Presage that happened to *Dioclesian*, of his Elevation to the Empire. My Grandfather hath told me, that he received it from *Dioclesian* himself. When *Dioclesian* served at the City of *Tongres* in the *Netherlands*, where he was then a young Soldier, and in an inferior Post, talking with a Woman who was a *Druid*, about his daily Expences at the Inn in which he lodged, says she to him, *Dioclesian, you are too Covetous, you are too good a Manager.* *Dioclesian* in jest answered, *But I will be Generous when I am an Emperor.* Says she, *Dioclesian, you need make no Jest of it: Yes, yes, you will be an Emperor, but you must first kill a Boar.* From that time *Dioclesian* always had thoughts in his mind of the Empire, as both *Maximian* and my Grandfather knew; to whom he himself told this Story, and laughed at it, but not a word to any body else. Therefore in Hunting, wherever he could, he always

always killed the Boars with his own hand: so  
when *Aurelian*, *Tacitus*, *Probus*, and *Carus*, were  
all made Emperors before him, says he, *I al-*  
*ways kill the Boars, but another runs away with*  
*the Dish and the sweet Bit.* But when he had  
killed *Aper*, which is a Latin Name for a Boar,  
Now, says he, *at last I have killed the Fatal*  
*Boar.* And my Grandfather hath said, that  
*Dioclesian* declared, that he had no other rea-  
son for killing *Aper* with his own hand, but  
to fulfil the Saying of the *Druid*, and strength-  
en himself in the Empire; for otherwise,  
especially upon the first day of his Reign, he  
did not desire to appear so Cruel, if such a  
Necessity had not thereunto compell'd him.

• Now I come to *Carinus*.

BY

FELAVIUS VOPISCUS

THE

A. Christi  
Cclxxxiii.

THE  
**Life and Reign**  
**OF THE**  
**EMPEROR**  
**CARINUS.**

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BY  
**FLAVIUS VOPISCUS.**

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**C**ARINUS was one of the impurest of Men. I am ashamed to repeat, what *Oneimus* hath written of him. An Adulterer, vicious with Boys whom he frequently debauched, and passive in an Act which is it self contrary to the Nature of his Sex.

His Father, going to the Persian War, left him to be the Governour over *Gallia, Italy, Illyricum,*

*Illyricum, Spain, Britain, and Africa, under the Title of a Caesar, but with the full Power of an Emperor.* In this Government he strangely dishonoured himself with enormous Vices and Actions. All the best Persons about him, *His filthy Vices and Luxuries.* he banished; and took and kept others in their room, who were of the worst of Mankind. He made one of his Porters the Governor of the City of *Rome*, than which nothing can be thought nor mentioned, more shameful. The Captain of the Guards, which he had, he killed, and into his place he put *Matronianus*, an old Pimp. His Secretary, another of his Pimps, who was always privy to his Lusts, and assisted him in them, he made a Consul against the express Orders of the Emperor his Father. He writ haughty Letters to the Senate; threatened to give away their Estates amongst the Mob of the City. He married Nine Wives, taking one and putting away another; several of which he put away big with Child. He filled the Court with Mimicks, Courtezans, Actresses, Singers and Pimps. He disdained the signing of Dispatches himself; so that he kept a wretch who was his Jester, always at Noons, to sign them for him; and many times he played upon him agreeably for imitating his hand well. He wore Jewels upon his Shooes; never wore a Button, but what was of a Jewel. His Belt was often set with Jewels. He never did the Consuls or the great Officers of the State, the Honour to step to meet them coming. The Lewd were much in his Favour, and always invited to his Table. He had ordinarily a hundred

hundred Pound of Birds, the same of Fish, and a thousand of Flesh of several sorts at a Meal. He spent a great deal of Wine. He swam (as I may say) amongst Fruits and Melons. He strew'd his Chambers and his Beds with Roses. His hot water Baths, when he bathed, were no more than Lukewarm. His cold Baths were of Snow-water. Coming in the Winter to a place where there was a Spring of very warm Water, as it naturally uses to be the warmer in the Winter, and the Bath being supplied with the same, says he to the Waiters, *You give me bere Woman's Water*; which (they say) was one of best things he ever said. It would be tedious to tell at large the rest of his Luxuries. *Fulvius Asprianus* hath also already done it: Let the Reader who desires to know every thing so particularly go to him. The Emperor *Carus* his Father, when he heard how he behaved himself, disowned him, and cried, *He is none of mine*. And had he lived, he would have deprived him of his *Cæsarean* Dignity and Power again. *Onesimus* says, he would have put him to Death, and advanced *Constansius* to his place, who was then the President of *Dalmatia*, and was afterwards made *Cæsar*, than whom no Man was fitter for that Honour.

*Carinus*, after both his Father and his Brother were dead, and *Dioclesian* was set up to be Emperor, gave himself more than ever to Vice and Extravagance, as if he was now more free, and eased of the Tyes of the Examples and domestick Admonitions of his Family.

However,

However, he wanted not the Vigour of mind to challenge the Empire. He fought for it against *Dioclesian* several Battels. In the last *He is defeated and slain.* of which, a Town in *Mæsia*, he was conquer-

This was the end of these Three Princes, *Carus*, *Numerian*, and *Carinus*. The Gods have given to us, since them, the Emperors *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, to whom they have worthily joyned *Galerius* and *Constantius*, whereof the former was born, to deface the ignominy of the Captivity of *Valerian*, and the other to restore *Gallia* to the Obedience of the *Romans*. These are the four great Princes of the World, Valiant, Wise, Benign, Generous, of one Sentiment for the Good and Interests of the State, always reverencing the Senate, Moderate, Friends of the People, Grave, Good, Religious, and such in fine, as we have ever prayed to have; whose Lives are severally written by *Claudius Eusthenius*, sometime Secretary to *Dioclesian*, which I therefore mention, because I would not that so great a Work should be expected from me, considering the Difficulty of speaking upon living Princes, blameless.

One thing yet is very memorable in the Government of the Emperor *Carus*, and of his two Sons, *Numerian*, and *Carinus*. They adorned the Publick Games, with which they entertained the People before they went to the *Persian* War, with Shews altogether new and strange, which we see are painted upon a Gallery in a part of the Palace, to continue the memory of them to Posterity. There was a

Rope-

Strange  
Shows  
made to  
the People.

Rope-Dancer, who seemed, as if he moved or flew in the Air ; the Cord on which he danced was so very small, you could scarce see it. Another Man ran upon the edge of a Wall with Dancing Bears at his Heels. There was a Symphony of a hundred Trumpets, a hundred Haur-Boys, a hundred Pipes, a hundred Flutes, with Voices to them ; a thousand Pantomimes, who danced all sorts of Anticks ; others, that were Wrestlers, Runners, Leapers. There was an Engine which represented the Burning of Towns, the Flames whereof taking hold on a part of the Amphitheatre, *Dioclesian* afterwards repaired it, and made it more Magnificent. Minicks from all Countries, were provided to be here. Then there was a sport performed by the *Sarmatian* Captives of Vaulting upon Horses, which is as pleasant as any thing in the World. Then there were those that acted the Cyclopean Postures ; and all these Musicians, Players, Sports-men, and the *Grecian* Artists had Gold and Silver given them, and Garments of Silk. I cannot tell how much the People are ingratiated by such kind of things. But sure I am, that several other good Emperors have made no great Account of them. *Dioclesian*, when an Officer commended to him these very Theatrical and Circensian Games of *Carus*, replied only, *Then Carus had laughing enough in his time*. And when *Dioclesian* himself exhibited his Games according to the Custom, he was much more sparing in the Liberty which he took, and in the Expence which he was at ; he said, those Diversions

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Diversions ought to be Chast and Modest, considering the presence at least of the Censor.

Now I leave this last Passage to be read by *Junius Miffala*, whom I dare be free to blame upon this occasion. Because he hath spent all his Estate upon Players, and denied it to his own Heirs. A Gown of his Mother's he gave away to one, a Coat of his Father's to another; a Garment of his Wife's, of Purple, embroidered in Gold, on which her Name was wrought, he gave to a Piper, who triumphs in it, as in a Spoil of the Nobility of the Donor. What shall I say of the Linens from *Egypt*? The bright *Tyrian* and *Sydonian* Purples, embroidered with admirable Art and Pains? The fine Stuffs from *Atras*, the Russets of *Canosa*, and other Cloaths from *Africa*? Riches which were never seen upon the Stage before! I am willing to speak all this to the World, purposely, that the Gentlemen who give those Publick Sports for the future, may be a little ashamed to spend their Estates, in prejudice to their lawful Heirs, upon such a Company of Poltrons.

Thus, my honoured Friend, you have now the little Present, which I presume to offer to you, of this History. I have often said, that I pretend not to shew any thing of Eloquence in the writing, but only a Curiosity to preserve and to relate Matter of Fact. And therefore if any eloquent Hand shall hereafter please to go over, and better illustrate

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the

the Lives of these Princes, and shall supply himself with Materials for the purpose, out of what I have said, I shall be very well satisfied. In the mean time, I desire you to be contented with my Services, and to believe that it was my Choice to write in this manner, without Disputing whether or no, I was able to have done it better.

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THE

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THE  
Lives and Reigns  
OF THE  
EMPERORS  
*DIOCLESIAN*  
AND  
*MAXIMIAN.*

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By J. BERNARD.

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**D**IOCLESIAN was born at an obscure Village called *Dioclea* in *Dalmatia*, and his Mother was of the same Name with the Village. Wherefore before his Elévation he was called *Diocles*; but being once set at the Head of the *Roman Empire*, he gave his Name a turn to the Form of a *Roman Name* and called himself *Dioclesian*.

*His Birth-  
place and  
Extradi-  
on.*

He was for some time in the beginning of his Youth, a Servant under *Anullinus*, a Senator. Then he went into the Army; where by his Diligence, his Bravery, and his Conduct, he raised himself so, from one Post to another, by degrees, that after the death of *Numerianus*, of which he protested he was altogether Innocent, and after the Revenge, as hath been said, which he took upon *Aper* for that Murder, the Army Proclaimed him Emperor.

*He is proclaim'd Emperor.*

*He persecutes the Christians.*

He accepted the Empire, and the Tribunitian Power was conferred upon him, on the 11th. of the Kalends of *May* in the Year of *Rome* 1036, and of Christ, 284. Which Year he ordered, by his Sovereign Power, to be made a Publick *Era*, or Date, from whence to Account the following Times. The Christians used it as far as to the Reign of *Justinian*. But upon their score, the same *Era* is likewise called the *Era of the Martyrs*, and with great Reason. For from the first Year of the Reign of *Dioclesian*, the Persecution which the Christians suffer'd under him, may very well be dated. It is true, his Reign was not so Unhappy to them, at the first, as it was afterwards. But yet no Year scarce passed, but what was defiled with Christian Blood: which was as the droppings of Rain before a violent Tempest, and as a Prologue to the dismal Tragedy that followed after.

*Sabinus Julianus*, who had set up for the Empire in *Italy*, after the death of *Carus*, was beaten to *Dioclesian's* hand by *Carinus*, and slain in the Plains of *Verona*. In the next place, *Dioclesian*

*Dioclesian* having entirely defeated *Carinus* also, in *Mæsia*, he then remained the sole Lord of all, and was left to enjoy the whole Empire to himself, without the least Competitor.

One thing is very New and Unexpected, which is to be observed in the beginning of this Prince's Reign: which is, That he Pardoned all Persons that had been engaged on the side of either *Carinus*, or *Julianus*. He deprived none of them of their Fortunes, Fame, or Honours. A Clemency, that after a Civil War, had not in the Memory of Man been known to have been shewn before.

He created *Maximian Cæsar*, and sent him with an Army into *Gallia*, to suppress the Disorders, that were there occasioned by *Amandus* and *Helianus*, being at the head of a Party of Rusticks and Robbers. *Maximian* discharged himself well of this Commission. By slight Skirmishes, which he took his opportunity to make with them, he quieted all things in *Gallia*, without any damage to his Army. The Revolters were frightned with the bare report of his march to them. At the same time, the *Franks* and the *Saxons* annoyed the Quarters of *Belgium* and *Armorica*: against whom *Carausius* was employed, who repulsed them, and took from them a great deal of Riches and good Booty; the profit whereof he ingrossed to himself, without laying it out for the good of the Provinces, or returning it, as he ought, into the Publick Treasury. Therefore *Carausius* was ordered to be seized and put to death. But he escaped immediately into *Great Britain*,

Maximian  
pacifies  
Gaul.

and gathering together there an Army, he revolted, and was declared Emperor.

There were now many Wars growing together upon the hands of *Dioclesian*, which he knew not, whether he might be able to sustain alone. The *Sarmatians* made great impressions upon *Pannonia*, the *Perians* usurped upon the Provinces of the East, the *Allemans* and the *Burgundians* were preparing to break violently into *Gallia*, *Carausius* continued to maintain the Quality of Emperor in *Great Britain*. So *Dioclesian* advanced *Maximian* from a *Cæsar*, to be Emperor in conjunction with him: and against the *Sarmatians* he repaired in Person himself, to whom having made appear the Power and Glory of his Arms, he passed on from thence into *Armenia*, where he broke the Force of the *Perians*, and obliged them to sue for a Peace. *Maximian* in the mean time opposed the Motions of the *Barbarians* in *Gallia*, till they even mouldered away of themselves, and were destroyed by Famine and Pestilence. But yet others of them renewing their Inursions the next Year, and passing over the *Rhine* upon the Ice into *Gallia*, *Maximian* had the honour of driving them back to whence they came; and not that only, but he followed them over the *Rhine* by a Bridge which he erected, and laid *Germany* waste as far as to the Fountains of the *Danube*. With the like success *Dioclesian* being returned out of *Armenia*, expelled the *Goths* from *Tbrace*, and secured the Passage of the River against them by three Forts, which he built.

Whilst

Whilst these things passed, *Acbilens* assumed the Purple upon him, at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*; and likewise a People called the *Quinquegentians*, or a Confederacy of five Cities in *Africa*, were upon the Revolt, and other Wars threatened from other Parts the Roman Empire. Hereupon *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* gave a Meeting to each other at the City of *Milan*; where they agreed upon two Persons, whom to create *Cæsars* for their assistance; who were *Constantius Chlorus*, and *Galerius Maximianus*. The first was appointed for the direction of *Gallia* and the recovery of *Great Britain*, the other made *Caesars* for the defence of the Banks of the *Istber*; whilst *Dioclesian* charged himself with the Affairs of *Egypt* and the East, and *Maximian* had the care of *Italy* and of the War of *Africa*. All three reverencing *Dioclesian* as their common Father.

Pursuant to this Distribution, *Dioclesian* repaired to *Egypt*, and there levelled the Cities of the *Thebais* to the ground.

*Constantius* expelled *Carausius* out of *Gallia*, whither he was then advanced; but as *Carausius* by flight, arrived again in *Great Britain*, he was killed by one of his own Friends and chief Officers, *Alectus*, after he had held the Government of that Province almost seven Years; and *Alectus* set up himself in his stead. Against whom *Constantius* prepared a Fleet in order to attack him at once by Sea and Land; assisted by *Asclepiodotus* the Captain of the Guards; who overcoming *Alectus*, after he had reign'd about three Years, that Victory finished the

Reduction of the Island of Great Britain.

Maximian, passing with his Forces into Africa, easily drove before him the Quinquegentiani. They fled for shelter into their inaccessible Fastnesses : but being forced to come to a Battel in the next Season, he Vanquish'd them, took them Prisoners, and disposed of them at his discretion.

Likewise Galerius obtained a signal Victory, in his Division, over the Bastarnæ and the Sarmatians ; in which Constantine, the Son of Constantius Chlorus by Helena, so Nobly signalized his Youth, as to take the Sarmatian General Prisoner, and bring him alive to Galerius.

After this Dioclesian Commanded Galerius out of Pannonia into Ægypt, and sent him to Encounter the Tyrant Acbilleus, who was not as yet oppressed there. Galerius Engaging and overcoming him about Pelusium, or Belvæs, Acbilleus fled for refuge into Alexandria ; but Galerius followed him and besieged him in Alexandria ; and obliging that City to surrender to him upon discretion in eight days, by the order of Dioclesian it was demolished, and exposed to free Plunder, and Acbilleus was cast to the Wild Beasts.

Egypt re-  
duc'd.

The War of Ægypt having detained Dioclesian in those Parts no less than six Years, Narses the King of Persia was encouraged in the mean time to commence a new War in the East, and to make his Incursions into Mesopotamia and Armenia. Wherefore Dioclesian sent Galerius away into the East ; who came to Antioch with a good Army, and had the better

better of *Narses* in two Battels. But rashly venturing the fortune of a third, on a time when his Force was become much reduced, he was so well beaten, that he lost almost entirely all his Men, and with difficulty escaped with his own Life. He came to *Dioclesian*; who received him in a manner, which was to let him know, that he highly resented his Conduct, and he was scarce willing to trust him with another Army to give him an opportunity to repair his disgrace. However *Galerius* obtained the leave to try his Fortune once more against *Narses*; and this time he gave the Persians such a rout, that he took the Wife, Sisters, and Children of *Narses* Prisoners, and obliged him to a Peace upon the Conditions, of returning back to the Romans all the Provinces that he had Usurped from them, and to take the *Tygris* for the Boundary of the Roman Empire.

Altogether the same Fortune did *Constantius* meet with in the East, of being first overcome by, and then of overcoming the Germans. They passed the *Rhine* upon the Ice, and gave him such a blow on a sudden, that he fled wounded to the next Garrison in that precipitancy and that danger, that the Gates being shut, he was forced to be haled upon the Walls by a Rope: but yet Rallying again presently, and engaging the Enemy with some fresh Men and a fresh Courage, he killed to the number of Sixty thousand of them upon the place.

These great and repeated Victories elevated the Pride of *Dioclesian* to a height, that not contented,

contented, neither with the Habit which had been usually worn by the *Roman Emperors*, nor with the accustomed Reverences that were paid them, he decorated his Person with Jewels and Cloth of Gold ; he caused his Enamell'd Shoes to be kissed, and himself to be Adored, and to be called a God and Lord ; which none of his Predecessors had done, since *Caligula* and *Domitian*.

When he triumph'd in great Pomp at *Rome*, in conjunction with *Maximian*, he entitled himself *Jovius*; and *Maximian*, *Herculinus*: As if himself was a second *Jupiter*, and *Maximian* a second *Hercules*. He Triumph'd over the *Gotbs*, *Bastarnæ*, *Quadi*, *Sarmatians*, *Ægyptians* and *Persians*: *Maximian* over the *Franks*, *Allemans*, *Britains* and *Mauritanians*. And their Triumphal Chariot was preceded by the Captive Sisters and Children of the King of *Perſia*.

This is what hath occurred to me, as to the Military part of the Life of *Dioclesian*. For by the loss of the Commentaries of *Claudius Eusthenius*, his Secretary, before mention'd by *Vopiscus*; and by the deplorable loss of other the like Originals, it is very visible, that a great many Particulars of both *Dioclesian*, *Maximian*, *Constantius* and *Galerius*, are wholly buried in Oblivion.

To proceed therefore, to what remains. These two Emperors published an Edict, which bears date from *Alexandria*, the day before the Kalends of *April*, and which is directed to *Julianus* the Proconsul of *Africa*, against the base and infamous Sect, as it calls them, of the

*Manichees*

*Manichees.* They order them to be entirely extirpated ; the Heads and Chieftains of them, together with their abominable Writings, to be burnt ; their Followers to be sent to the Mines, or otherwise punished with Death ; and all their Estates to be confiscated into the Treasury.

As to the Christians, they published an Edict in the Year 286. whereby they forbade any Person to be allowed to Buy, or Sell, or Grind, or draw Water, who refused to burn Incense before the Statues of the Gods. But this Edict

touched only, for the present, the Christians who lived at *Rome*. It is not understood to have been enjoyned to be observed over all the Empire.

The Fire was kindled by degrees : till being continually blown up from the mouths of the Gentile Priests and the Philosophers and others, who could not perswade themselves to forego the Trade of the gainful Sacrifices and Idols of the Gentile Religion ; and there never wanting more and more Fuel to feed the Flame, it came at last to an Universal Conflagration.

The Particulars, it is not for this place to recount. It is sufficient to say, That it was the most Unmerciful, Inhumane, Dire, Outrageous Scene of Barbarity, that ever the Sun beheld ; and spilt more blood, in a manner, that was to the last degree base and dishonourable to the Actors, but glorious to the Sufferers, than had been spilt before in a thousand Wars.

A Legion of *Theban* Soldiers, who had been employed in *Syria* against the *Perians* and *Parthians*, and by having been used to Winter in *Palestine*, had been brought to embrace the Christian

*The Edict  
against  
the Chris-  
tians.*

Christian Religion, was in the Year 297, Commanded out of the East to serve under *Maximian* in *Gallia*. The Tribune was *Mauricius*, the Standard-bearer *Exuperius*, and among the rest there was one *Candidus*, a Senator. They were a compleat Legion of 6666 Stout Men, well appointed. So *Maximian*, going to meet the Enemy, commanded the usual Sacrifices to be offered to the Gods, the whole Army to be purged, and all the Soldiers to burn Incense; which this Legion, being Christians, refusing, they were decimated once: that is, every tenth Man drawn out and put to death. But this could not alter their Principles. They were decimated a second time: but neither so, were they to be removed from their Religion. Then they were surrounded by the Army, and all slain in their own Camp, at a Place called *Agawum* in *Gallia*, whither they were retired, the distance of eight Miles from the Camp of *Maximian*; but assuring him, that excusing them their Religion, they were always ready to return unto his Camp again, and to Act as bravely as any against the Enemy.

It was by the Hands and Labours of the Christian Soldiers, that *Maximian* raised those immense Structures of the Baths of *Dioclesian* at *Rome*, the Baths of his own Name at *Carthage*, the Palace at *Aquileia*, and the Amphitheatre at *Verona*. For he condemned them to any the most servile Offices.

As he assisted, upon the fifteenth of the Kalends of May in the Year 301, at the Games

of the Cirque, the Populace, who knew very well that they could not do any thing to oblige him more, cryed, *Let the Christians be cut off:* and repeated it twelve times. *May it please your Majesty, let there be no Christians.* They repeated this ten times. Therefore *Eugenius Hermogenianus*, the Captain of the Guards, proposed the Matter to the Senate; who resolving it in the Affirmative, *Maximian* issued out his Rescript for their Excision, directed to *Venusianus*, the day before the Kalends of May.

In the next place, came out the General Edict of *Dioclesian*, to *Abolish the Assemblies of the Christians in all places wheresoever they were; to raze their Churches to the ground, to burn their Scriptures, to secure their Ecclesiasticks, to deprive them of all Honours, Offices and Liberties, and by all the means imaginable to force them to comply to the Worship of the Gods.* Infinite Numbers upon this, in all Parts, perished. In *Ægypt* alone 140000 were Martyred, and 700000 Banished. Columns were set up over all the Roman Empire in the Names of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, and sometimes *Dioclesian* and *Galerius*, vainly boasting, that they had extinguished the Christian Name. Whereas, on the contrary, they had propagated it, and confirmed it. For the Blood of the Martyrs was the Seed of the Church; and the Christians surmounted all this with a Virtue, never to be forgotten, never to be expressed.

*Dioclesian* himself lived to know, that his Enterprize was impracticable. He fell into a Melancholy,

Death of  
Dioclesian

Maximian  
and re-  
sumes.

Melancholy, quitted the Purple which others have so dearly bought, Created Galerius at *Nicomedia* Emperor in his stead, and retired for his own part to the City of *Salona* in *Dalmatia*: where after a Private Life of 9 Years, he died, some say he Poisoned himself, and the *Romans* consecrated him a God. He had reigned 20 Years, and lived to the Age of 68.

Maximian, at the perswasion of Dioclesian, concurred with him in this his last unprecedent Action. They both Abdicated the Empire in a day. Maximian created in his stead Constantius Emperor at *Milan*, and went and lived a Private Life in the Province of *Lukania*: till the *Romans* perswaded him to resume his Dignity again, in order to determine a great Quarrel that was arisen betwixt Maxentius his Son, and Severus the Kinsman of Galerius: Maximian endeavour'd in like manner to have perswaded Dioclesian to have resumed his former Dignity again also. But Dioclesian detested it, and said, *I wish you could see my Gardens, that I have Planted with my own hand at Salona: you would never have thought this a thing to be proposed to me.* However Maximian put himself at the Head of an Army, and went to the Siege of *Ravenna*; and getting Severus, by Treachery, within his Power, he slew him; whose Body was interred afterwards in the Sepulchre of Gallienus upon the *Appian Way*, 9 Miles from *Rome*. Quitting the Army, when this Work was done, because he was not over>Welcome to Command it longer, he visited Dioclesian at *Salona*, and then went into *Gallia*, where

where he matched his Daughter *Fausta* unto the Emperor *Constantine*, the Son of *Constantius* by *Helena*, who had succeeded to the Powers of his Father. But yet as he was at *Treves*, it was found, that he practised his Arts upon the Soldiers, with a design, if he could, to expel *Constantine* and possess himself of the Empire a-new. *Constantine* was advertised of it by *Fausta*; and pursuing him as far as to *Marseilles*, he besieged him, took him, and ordered him to be Strangled, and his Body was interred at *Milan*. He had reigned 18 Years, and lived to the Age of 60.

*His Death*

He was born at *Sirmish* in *Sclavonia*, of mean Parents. His Wife was *Eutropia*, a Syrian Woman, by whom he had Issue *Maxentius* and *Fausta*. He was a very Rough, Stern, and Barbarian-like Man: but a great Soldier, and a faithful Friend to *Dioclesian*, and one that had been his old Companion in Arms. And he was Incontinent, and Treacherous.

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THE

*A. Christi  
CCCIV.*

## THE

## Lives and Reigns

OF THE

## EMPERORS

*Flavius Constantius Chlorus,*

AND

*Galerius Maximianus Armentarius.*

BY

J. BERNARD.

**T**H E R E is the less to be spoken of these two Princes in this place, because a great part of their Actions hath been represented already in the Account of the Emperors fore-going, under whom they served, and who advanced them successively to

to the Dignity first of Cæsars, and then of Emperors.

Therefore I shall only here take notice, that at the same time that they were created Cæsars, they were obliged to put away their Wives, to whom they were already married; and to remarry, for a Tye of Affinity, into the Families of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*. *Constantius* dismissed himself from *Helena*, by whom he had had *Constantine*, who was afterwards the Emperor *Constantine the Great*; and he re-married to *Theodora*, who was Daughter-in-Law to *Maximian*. In like manner *Galerius* re-married *Valeria*, who was the Daughter of *Dioclesian*, but she did not live long with him; and to consecrate her Memory to futurity after her Death, her Father imposed her Name on a part of *Pannonia*, which he called the Province of *Valeria*; and also he gave her Name to a City situated upon the Banks of the *Danube*.

*Constantius* was the Son of a Daughter of *Gripus*, who was the Brother of the Emperor *Claudius*. He was created the Cæsar, properly to *Maximian*, to whom he succeeded in the Government of the *West*; and *Galerius* was the Cæsar properly to *Dioclesian*, to whom he succeeded in the Empire of the *East*. But as *Constantius* was a Prince endowed with all the fine and good Qualities in the World, it is certain that he neither when he was a Cæsar, nor when Emperor, dipped his Hands in the Blood of the Christians, which all the other Three laboured to spill with so much greediness.

ness. He could not indeed contradict the Edicts of those about them, but yet he moderated the matter in their Favour as much as possible, and the Destruction was always the less where he came. *Galerius*, one day, urging him on to be as violent upon it as his Brethren, he published an Order for all Persons to depart his Court, who would not sacrifice. But such Christians, as for fear, and the advantage of staying in his Court, complied, he blamed and turned out of it; and such as had chosen rather to depart than Sacrifice, he recalled and retained them, saying; *He could not doubt of their Fidelity to him, who were so True to God.*

There is this other Passage, that shews the Goodness of *Constantius*, not to be omitted. *Dioclesian* had blamed very much his Negligence, and reproached him with being a poor Prince, because he had no Money in his Treasury. *Constantius* desired the Envoys, who had brought him that Message, only to stay a little, and they should see more of this matter. In the mean time, he signified his desire to all his States, to furnish him with Money. They filled his Coffers immediately, and with a Zeal, in which every one had an emulation to excel. Then shewing to the Envoy of *Dioclesian* his Riches, he said, *His Subjects Money was all at his Devotion; but he never thought it safer, than when they were the Keepers of his Treasury.*

*Galerius* was by his Birth a *Dacian* of mean Parentage. He was called *Armentarius*, because

cause at the first in his Youth, he was but a Keeper of Cattel. His Mother's Name was *Romula*, from which he took an occasion to call the place of his Birth *Romulianus*, and he pretended to say, that his Mother when she conceived of him, was impregnated by a Dragon. He was of a tyrannical Disposition, and much addicted to the Magicks. He was particularly bloody upon the Christians of *Nicomedia*. But coming to die by a Disease which consumed his Secret Parts, and rotted out his Eyes, and parted his Flesh from his Bones, he was so sensible of the Hand of God in it, that he countermanded the Persecution, and begged the Prayers of the Christians unto God for him.

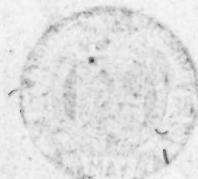
Whilst the moderate *Constantius* contented himself with the Administration of no more than *Gallia*, *Spain* and *Great Britain*, *Galerius* thought fit to create two Cæsars, the one to preside over *Italy*, the other to go into the *East*, who were his two Sister's Sons, *Flavius Valerius Severus*, and *Galerius Maximin*. In which Promotion, pretermittting *Constantine* the Son of *Constantius* by *Helena*, who had all along served under him; and *Constantine* together with his Resentments of that, suspecting a Design against his Person, he made his escape from him, and fled into *Great Britain* to his Father, who was arrived there out of *Gallia*, in order to make War upon the *Caledonians* and the *Picts*. His Father with Joy embraced him, and by the Consent of all the Forces appointed and declared him his Successor; and pre-

sently after that, his Father dying at the City of York the Eighth of the Kalends of *August* in the Year Three Hundred and Six ; then commenced the Reign of the Emperor *Constantine the Great*.

*Constantine* was Emperor not much above one Year, *Galerius* reigned about six ; and both had been before thirteen years Cæsars. They finished the vast Structure of the Baths of *Dio-clesian*, which was a Work from the beginning, of seven years. *Galerius* did a great deal of good to the Province of *Pannonia*, by cutting down the Woods, and converting them into Fields, and by opening a Mouth for the Lake *Pelso*, to fall into the *Danube*. He created *Licinius* Emperor in Conjunction with him, towards the end of his Reign, and set him over *Illyricum* and *Tbrace* ; being one who was his Country-man, a *Dacian*, and who had signalized himself well under him in the Wars of *Perſia*. And then *Gallerius* died in the manner which hath been said, in the Year three hundred and eleven.

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F I N I S.



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A  
**CHRONOLOGY**  
TO BOTH  
**VOLUMES.**

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A  
ХРОНОЛОГИЯ  
ИТОЛ от  
VOLUME

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A  
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TO THE  
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*Ann. Christi,*

96 **D**omitian kill'd, Sept. 18.  
NERVA.

97 **C**onspiracy of Calphurnius Crassus  
against him.  
Adopted Trajan.  
98 Dies, Jan. 27.

TRAJAN.

100 **T**HE Dacian War of five Years.  
103 His Bridge over the Danube.  
104 Arabia reduced by Palmas.  
105 Decebalus the King of Dacia kills himself.  
A a 4      107 Death

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107 Death of Licinius Suras.  
108 The Parthian Expedition.  
111 Deposition of Parthamalysris from the Crown  
of Armenia.  
112 Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria conquered.  
114 Rebellion of the Jews.  
The Forum and Column of Trajan finished.  
115 Earthquake at Antioch. *Descripsione Terrae.*  
116 Trajan's Voyage on the Red-Sea,  
Revolt of his Conquests.  
117 Adopteth Hadrian.  
Dies, Aug. 10.

### HADRIAN.

118 Palmas, Celsus, and others killed.  
119 He relinquishes the Conquests of Trajan.  
122 Adrianople built.  
123 Expedition into Great Britain.  
125 At Athens initiated in the Eleusinian My-  
steries.  
126 Passeth into Africa.  
127 Again visiteth Athens.  
129 Erects a Tomb to his Horse.  
131 Death of Antinous.  
134 Sepulchrum Hadriani built.  
136 Adopteth Ælius Verus.  
137 Ælius Verus dies.  
138 Hadrian adopteth Antoninus Pius.  
Dies, July 10.

### ANTON.

# CHRONOLOGY.

## ANTONINUS PIUS.

A.C.

139 **A** Dopteth Marcus Antoninus, Feb. 25.  
141 **A** Repairs the Pons Sublicius at Rome.  
Death of his Wife Faustina.  
144 The Britains reduced by Lollius Urbicus.  
145 The Moors, Germans, Dacians, and Alans  
reduced.  
147 Matches his Daughter to Marcus Antoninus.  
Apollonius the Philosopher of Chalcis invited to Rome.  
152 An Inundation of the Tyber.  
156 Attilius Titianus proscribed.  
161 Death, March 6.

## Marcus Antoninus the Philosopher.

161 **A** Associates Verus to him in the Empire.  
**A** The Parthian War of five Years.  
162 Agricola sent into Great Britain.  
166 Commodus declared Cæsar, Octob. 12.  
168 A great Pestilence.  
169 The Marcomannick War.  
Death of Verus.  
174 Victory over the Quadi and Marcomanni.  
175 The Revolt of Cassius.  
176 M. Anton. passeth to Athens.  
177 Triumphs:  
Commodus declared his Associate in the Empire, November 27.  
178 Matches Commodus to Crispina.  
180 Death, March 16.

COM-

# CHRONOLOGY.

## COMMODUS.

A.C.

- 180 Triumphs.
- 181 The Ministry of Perennis.
- 183 The Britains reduced by Ulpius Marcellus.
- 184 Attempt of Pompeianus against the Life of Commodus.  
Lucilla, Sister to Commodus put to death.
- 185 The Baths of Commodus built.
- 186 Perennis killed.
- 187 The Ministry of Cleander.
- 190 Cleander killed.  
Commodus putteth his own Head upon the  
Coloss of the Sun.
- 192 Acceteth Hercules.  
Death.

## PERTINAX.

- 126 BORN.
- 167 Defeatreth the Germans under the Reign  
of M. Antoninus.
- 193 His Death, March 28.

## DIDIUS JULIANUS.

- 193 D<sup>e</sup>posed and killed, June —

## SEVERUS.

- 194 D<sup>e</sup>feats and slays Pescennius Niger.
- 196 D<sup>v</sup>ictories in the East.  
Declares Caracalla Cæsar, June 1.  
198 Over-

## CHRONOLOGY.

A.C.

198 Overcomes and kills Albinus.  
Declares Caracalla Emperor with him, and  
Geta Caesar.

200 His Expedition against Parthia.

202 Edict as to the Christians and Jews.

203 Marries Caracalla to Plautilla.

Triumphs.

205 Plautianus killed.

208 Expedition into Great Britain.

210 His Wall there built.

211 Death, Febr. 4.

## CARACALLA.

212 GETA killed, Febr. 5.  
And Papinian.

213 His Journey into Gallia.

214 Banishes the Senate from Rome.

215 Marries his Mother-in-Law.

216 Commits a vast Slaughter in Alexandria.

217 His Death, April 8.

## OPILIUS MACRINUS.

218 CONCLUDETH a Peace with the Parthians.  
Overcome, and killed.

## HELIOGABALUS.

219 ARRIVES at Rome.

220 Adopteth Alexander Severus.

222 Death, March 6.

## ALEX.

# CHRONOLOGY.

## ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

A.C.

225 **M**inistry of Ulpian under him.  
Finishes the Baths of Commodus and  
Caracalla:  
226 Ulpian, killed.  
230 Expedition against Artaxerxes.  
232 Taurinus executed.  
233 Cashiers a Legion.  
234 Triumphs, Sept. 25.  
235 His Death, March 18.

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- 235 Maximin lays waste Germany.
- 236 The Gordiani set up in Africa.
- 237 Maximus and Balbinus set up by the Senate.  
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- 238 The Death of Maximus and Balbinus.
- 240 Revolt of Sabinianus against Gordianus the Tbird.
- 241 The Marriage of Gordianus the Tbird.
- 242 His Expedition into the East.
- 243 Death of Mysitheus.
- 244 Gordianus the Tbird, Deposed and Killed.
- 250 The Philips Overcome and Slain.
- 251 Valerian Elected Censor, Octob. 27.

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Death of the Decii.  
252 — of Gallus and Volusianus.  
253 — of Æmilian.  
254 Valerian Associates Gallienus with him in  
the Empire.  
259 Valerian taken Prisoner by the Persians.  
260 } The Revolts of Macrianus, Ingenuus,  
261 } Balista, Valeris, Piso, and others of  
262 } the Thirty Tyrants.  
263 Odenatus Absolute in the East.  
264 Expedition of Gallienus against Posthu-  
mius.  
265 Death of Odenatus.  
268 — of Gallienus, March 21.  
The Goths, and other Barbarians lay waste  
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269 Expedition of Claudius against them.  
270 Death of Claudius, Feb. 5.  
— of his Brother.  
271 The Libri Sybillini Consulted by the order  
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273 Zenobia taken Prisoner by Aurelian.  
Tetricus surrenders to him.  
274 Aurelian Triumphs.  
275 His Death, Jan. 29.  
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276 His Death, Apr. 13.  
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278 — against the Almains.  
281 Revolt of Saturninus.  
282 Revolts

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285 Carinus Defeated and Slain.  
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290 Dioclesian and Maximian meet at Milan.

291 Constantius and Galerius Created Cæsars.

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293 Victory of Galerius in Pannonia.

294 Defeat of Achilleus.

295 Great Britain recovered to the Empire.  
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296 Galerius defeated by the Persians.

297 Regains his Honour.  
As likewise Constantius.  
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298 Dioclesian Adored.  
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301 Dioclesian and Maximian Triumph.  
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302 Edict

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310 Licinius Created Emperor.  
311 Death of Galerius.  
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